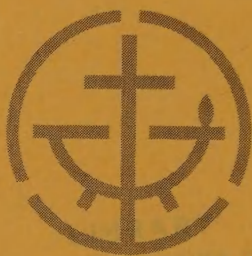


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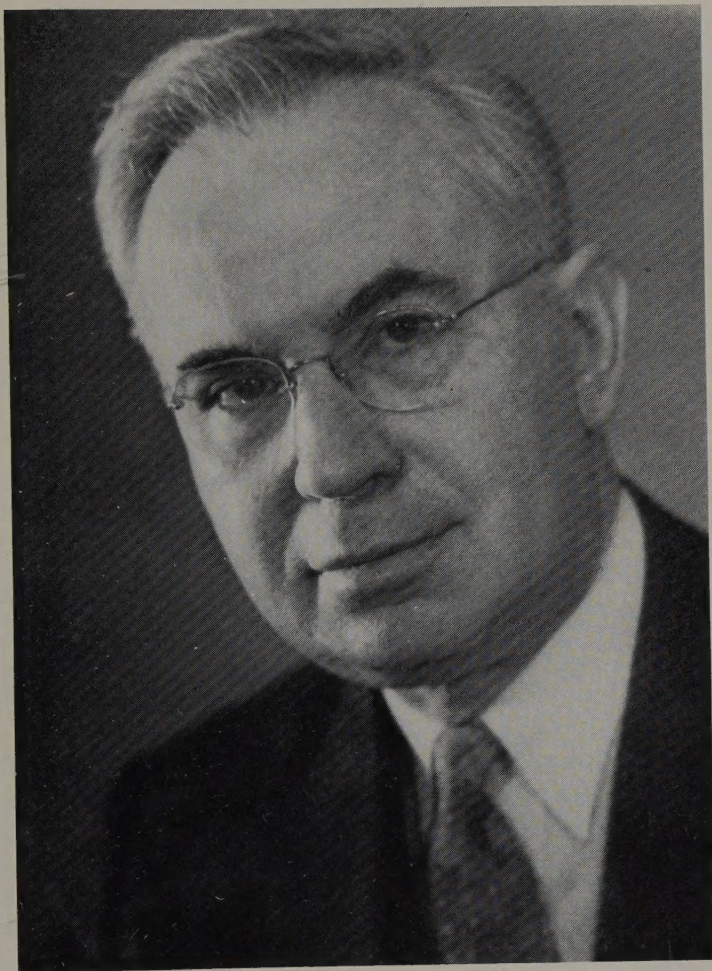
The Editors of the *Hebrew Union College Annual*
affectionately dedicate this volume to the cherished
memory of two eminent colleagues

ISRAEL BETTAN
AND
SAMUEL S. COHON

”הנאהבים והנעימים בחייהם...”



PROFESSOR ISRAEL BETTAN
January 16, 1889 — August 5, 1957



PROFESSOR SAMUEL S. COHON
March 22, 1888 — August 22, 1959

The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College

Volume XXXI of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* is the fourth of this series to be subventioned by The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund of the Hebrew Union College, and is intended to serve as a memorial to Abraham and Emma Neumann, under the terms of the will of their son, Sidney Neumann of Philadelphia, who died at the age of eighty-four on February 5, 1958.

Sidney Neumann was a modest, self-effacing son of the House of Israel. A life-long member of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia, he was a loyal and devoted friend to three generations of its rabbis. Inspired in childhood by the eloquence of the dynamic personality of a member of the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union College, Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, Sidney Neumann always felt a special bond of gratitude to the seminary whose graduates ministered to him and to his family. Although he never visited the College, he revered its meaning in his own life and in the life of American Jewry. A bachelor with no human ties beyond the friendship of a few devoted souls, he sought in his bequest to support those aspects of American Jewish life, both in Philadelphia and elsewhere, which best exemplified the ideals and aspirations of his teacher, Rabbi Krauskopf, and which harmonized with his own concept of that which is permanent and enduring.

In his will, therefore, Sidney Neumann bequeathed the fruits of a lifetime of hard work to the institutions which he respected and loved: the congregation to which he and his parents belonged, for the building and maintenance of a chapel; the National Agricultural College (founded as the National Farm School by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Philadelphia Home for the Jewish Aged; the Jewish Publication Society of America (co-founded by Rabbi Krauskopf); the Lucien Moss Home of Philadelphia; the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia; the Hebrew Union College and the American Jewish Archives — for scholarly publications. All these, in addition to some modest bequests to many other institutions and to a number of individuals.

It is noteworthy that these generous gifts were not meant to perpetuate his own name, other than through the recitation of Kaddish for him in the Keneseth Israel Temple and the Chapel of the Hebrew Union College; Sidney Neumann contributed these large sums so that an enduring memorial to his parents might be assured.

We, of the Hebrew Union College, therefore, take pride in saluting the spirit of Sidney Neumann with this volume of the *Hebrew Union College Annual* dedicated to the memory of his parents, Abraham and Emma Neumann. *Zekher zaddik libhrakhah*: the memory of the righteous will be a blessing.

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JERUSALEM — 485 B. C.

(Concluded)

JULIAN MORGENSTERN

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

XI

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE CATASTROPHE

THE influence of the message of Deutero-Isaiah¹ long exerted a dominant influence upon the Jewish community, and especially that of Palestine, both as to religious belief and way of life. In this message the principle of universalism was paramount. The prophet proclaimed that this world was a unit, governed by one sole world-God, Yahweh, its Creator, Israel's god from its very birth as a people. Moreover, the world was destined by Yahweh to be organized as a single world-empire, with Cyrus or one of his descendants ruling as world-king and bearing the, from the prophet's standpoint, supreme title, *m^ešiah Yahweh*, "Yahweh's Anointed One" (Isa. 45.1). This divinely appointed dynasty, so the prophet plainly implied, would be eternal, would sit upon this world-throne forever. And with the entire world thus integrated as a closely-knit political unit, all warfare between nations would necessarily cease forever, universal peace would prevail, and the various nations of the world would now find that salvation for which they had sought so eagerly, so desperately, and to provide which they had vainly looked each to its own false god. Eventually they would come to realize and to appreciate, each nation in turn, that it was Yahweh, the world-God, and Yahweh alone, who had brought them to this salvation, and to Him they would turn in homage and in acknowledgment of Him as the one, true God of all nations and of all men, the one true God of the entire world.

Within this mighty world-empire Israel was no longer a political entity, a kingdom, ruled by a king of Davidic descent and bearing the distinctive title, "Yahweh's Anointed." That exalted title, as has been said, had been transferred to the ruler of this new and vast

¹ Morgenstern, "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding," *HUCA* XXIX (1958), 1-67; XXX (1959), 1-102.

world-empire, to be borne by him and his posterity forever. Israel was now merely a people, one of the constituent elements, and its native land was merely a province, of the great world-empire. But Israel was not, so the prophet held, a mere, ordinary people within this world-empire. It was instead a unique people in a very positive sense. It had known Yahweh from its very beginning. It was His people and He was primarily its god. And as His own peculiar people in first degree, it was His servant, the agent of His universal purpose for all mankind, the messenger of His salvation for all nations and for all men. It was its task, its divinely imposed mission, to mediate to all nations and peoples, to all the world, the knowledge of Yahweh as the sole world-God and of His universal purpose of salvation for all mankind, and thus win these nations and peoples to recognition of Him and acceptance of Him by each nation as its own god in all that this implied.

But this mission Israel was to perform by a passive rather than by an active service. By Yahweh's will it was to be restored by Cyrus from Babylonian exile to ancestral land. Jerusalem was to be repopulated by Israel and the Temple was to be rebuilt. And there in its native land, delivered from conquest and exile and restored to folk-existence, and worshiping its own ancestral god, Yahweh, anew, it was henceforth to live quietly, faithfully, devotedly in the service of Yahweh, and thus be the living, conscious exponent unto all the peoples of the world of the salvation which Yahweh had purposed for them also and of the way of life which He would have all peoples, His creation, live ever thereafter. And the nations, one after the other, perceiving the salvation which Yahweh had wrought for His people, whereas in a comparable situation their own native gods had all failed them, would renounce these false gods and would turn spontaneously to Yahweh and acknowledge Him as the one, sole God of the entire universe, as therefore their god, and would commence voluntarily and eagerly to live the life which He had destined for them and for all mankind together.

Such was in essence the message of Deutero-Isaiah. How this message was carried from Babylon, where it was spoken by the prophet, to Israel in Palestine we can only surmise. But carried it was; and it had a potent and enduring effect. In this period of Persian dominance and with the dreams and plans of the first four Persian monarchs for the establishment of a true world-empire, with Persia at its head, current and active, universalism and world-empire were already widely accepted concepts. This fact made Deutero-Isaiah's message very timely and its broadest principles generally acceptable to all the Jewish people of that day.

In the closing years of the exilic and during the early portion of the post-exilic period the Jewish community in Palestine was divided into what may well be called two parties or sects. The Universalist Party accepted Deutero-Isaiah's program practically completely. To them Israel was not at all a political entity, a nation, but was instead a people, an integral part of the Persian world-empire, acknowledging the Persian monarch as its only ruler, its king. It was, from its own standpoint, a religious community, eagerly desirous of the restoration of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple, even as Deutero-Isaiah had predicted, so that it might worship Yahweh, its god, truly once again, might live the life ordained by Him, and, by serving as the living and convincing example of His world-power and His all-embracing benevolence, might win other peoples one by one to discard their old and manifestly unreal and impotent gods and accept Yahweh as their god also.

The Nationalist Party likewise accepted Deutero-Isaiah's message of universalism, with its fundamental principle that Yahweh was indeed the one, sole world-God, and that a single kingdom, one world-empire, as the sole political organization for all mankind was His preconceived plan and purpose. But here they stopped. They could not subscribe to Deutero-Isaiah's teaching that Yahweh had chosen the Persians to head and administer this world-empire forever and that Cyrus and his posterity after him were Yahweh's appointed world-rulers, his Messiahs. Yes, Cyrus had inaugurated a program of world-conquest and had carried it far indeed. And Cambyses, his son, by his conquest of Egypt and his incorporation of it into the Persian Empire had advanced this program in significant measure. But all this could be only temporary, a stage in the preparation for the ultimate, ever-enduring world-state. Yahweh, Israel's god from the very beginning of its existence as a people, so Deutero-Isaiah had himself proclaimed, could not possibly have destined any nation other than His own, for to these Nationalists Israel was certainly more than a mere people, for the exalted role of the political leadership and domination of the entire world. A Jewish world-empire, and this alone, could be His ultimate and enduring purpose. Nor could He have intended that the dynasty of Cyrus should fill eternally the office of world-ruler and world-king. Nor could the title, Yahweh's Messiah, His Anointed, be rightly and truly held by any member of this dynasty. Deutero-Isaiah had erred grossly in applying it to Cyrus. For almost five hundred years this high title had been borne only by David or some one descendant of his; and there were posterity of David still alive and active in this very day, to one of whom, and only to whom, this title rightly belonged. No, this present period of

Persian world-conquest and world-dominance could be only one of preparation, only temporary in character. Sooner or later this preparation must be completed, and then this period would end. Then the Persian world-empire would terminate, and that for which it had merely paved the way, the Jewish world-empire, destined by Yahweh, the world-God, to endure forever, would replace it. And then at last instead of Cyrus and his posterity a Jewish monarch, a descendant of David, the true Messiah, would sit upon the world-throne, to be followed in turn by his posterity forever thereafter. Such was the cherished program of the Nationalists as it evolved in the period immediately following Deutero-Isaiah, the closing years of the exilic period.

And when, in 523 B. C., barely sixteen years after Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia and his coming thereby to the status of world-ruler, Cambyses, Cyrus' son and heir, following his conquest of Egypt, committed suicide, leaving no heir, and a period of confusion, disorganization and threatened disintegration for the as yet but short-lived Persian Empire set in and endured for almost three years, the hopes of the Nationalist Party within the Judaeian community naturally rose high. Their beliefs seemed well on the way to realistic confirmation. Clearly, so they reasoned, these sixteen short years had been naught but a period of preparation for the actual and ever-enduring Jewish world-empire, which, quite manifestly, Yahweh, the one world-God, truly purposed. Now was plainly the time for decisive action, for a descendant of David to come forward in the role of the true Messiah, to declare himself as Yahweh's long destined, true world-king and to take whatever steps might be necessary to establish firmly the true Jewish world-empire, purposed by Yahweh from of old.

For this role Zerubabel, a descendant of David, and no doubt for that very reason appointed by the Persian royal administration as governor of the province of Judah, was the logical candidate. Seemingly he was, for reasons which we can only surmise, not readily drawn into the movement, for the prophet Haggai's various attempts to persuade him to participate therein extended over a period of at least four full months. Apparently he was finally induced by Haggai's second address on the 24th of the ninth month (Hag. 2.20-23), directed immediately to him and promising him in Yahweh's name the overthrow of the Persian Empire,¹ to cast in his lot with the

¹ Certainly this and naught else must be the import of Hag. 2.22. The text of the v. is in a somewhat corrupt state, and therefore its literal meaning can not be determined in full detail with absolute certainty. For the first מלכות *G* reads מלכים and for the second מלכות it reads מלכי. But it is significant that, despite these plurals

Nationalists. And Zechariah too, in the initial period of his prophetic ministry, seems to have promised Zerubabel victory and triumph over the Persian king.¹ The term, *har hagadôl*, "Great Mountain," manifestly employed by the prophet as the title of the person addressed, was obviously a literal translation of the Accadian term, *šadû rabû*, a title regularly borne by the high Babylonian deity, Bel.² Here quite clearly it designates some human being, though certainly one of exalted rank. Assuredly this can be only the king of Persia, who functioned likewise as ruler of Babylonia, and as such identified himself in some measure with the supreme Babylonian deity, the god particularly of the city of Babylon, Bel-Marduk. Before Zerubabel, so the prophet predicts, this "High Mountain" will be reduced to a level plain, a very graphic figure indeed.

This rebellion, led, apparently only half-heartedly, by Zerubabel, endured at the very most for only two or three months. Then it was completely crushed, and this too apparently with minimal military effort on the part of the Persians. There is cogent reason for believing that the Nationalists mustered an army insignificant in every respect, and that in fact they made little effort to muster a sizable army. Instead they seem to have relied upon the assurance of Haggai and others, of which we shall soon hear more, that Yahweh would go out with their troops and would Himself fight on their behalf, that He would stir up internal dissension and strife within the ranks of the enemies confronting them, and thus not only would the Persians be overcome but also, following this initial struggle, one city and one people after another would succumb to Yahweh's all-prevailing might, exerted now in behalf of His chosen people, until at last the eagerly desired and manifestly, on the part of the Nationalists, confidently expected Jewish world-empire would be established and Zerubabel, the Anointed of Yahweh, would reign as world-king, the first of a never-ending line of Yahweh-destined world-rulers. That

in both *MT* and *G*, the *MT* text speaks of only a single throne which must be overthrown in order for Zerubabel to achieve final victory and his ultimate goal; and this could have been naught but the Persian throne. It is noteworthy too that according to v. 22b the enemy will be overthrown through internal dissension and strife, all brought on by Yahweh, and that impliedly Israel will have to wage no active warfare whatsoever. Of this more later.

¹ Zech. 4.6aβb-7a. This passage is unquestionably an intrusion into the major address here, of which v. 10aβb is the immediate continuation of v. 6aa. Vv. 7b-10aa are likewise an intrusion here, though hardly a literary unit with vv. 6aβb-7a. Both intrusions are quite plainly fragments of earlier addresses of Zechariah, directed immediately to Zerubabel and therefore delivered in all likelihood in 520-519 B. C.

² Zimmern, in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., 355, 358.

the Persians experienced little difficulty in crushing this incipient and more theoretical than actual rebellion is almost self-evident. Apparently the Universalists were not involved in the rebellion and so did not arouse the antagonism of the Persians. It was purely a party affair. What the fate of Zerubabel may have been we can only surmise, for we hear nothing more of him. Unquestionably he was removed from office and carried away from Palestine by the Persians. Whether he was imprisoned, exiled or executed by his captors we have no way of knowing, although certain considerations, which, however, we may not discuss here, suggest that execution was his most probable fate.

With the failure of this rebellion, if rebellion it may be truly called, since it did not involve the entire community, the Universalists naturally came into power. Quite obviously it was now dangerous to be known or regarded as a Nationalist. The latter party accordingly went underground, but, despite this bitter frustration of their confident expectations, continued to cherish assured hopes that eventually a Jewish world-empire, with a king of Davidic descent sitting upon the throne as the Yahweh-destined world-ruler, would be realized.

In his several addresses Haggai had definitely suggested that the rebuilding of the Temple must be the primary task of Zerubabel as king of the new Jewish world-empire. So strongly had this theme been stressed, apparently not only by Haggai but also by Zechariah and no doubt also by other moulders of public opinion of the day, that the Persians came, so it would seem, to believe that the desire for a restored Temple had been the chief, or at least one of the main, motivating considerations which brought on the rebellion. And, apparently by nature always tolerant of the religious beliefs and practices of their subject peoples, the Persians now reasoned that the restoration of the Temple and the revival of the traditional worship therein would forestall any further rebellions or manifestations of political discontent on the part of the Jewish community in Palestine. Accordingly almost immediately, so it would seem, after the crushing of the rebellion and the restoration of order in the community, the rebuilding of the Temple was commenced, of course with the whole-hearted approval and support and under the supervision of the Universalist Party, now in control of the life and activities of the community. This task endured for three years. The new, the second, Temple was dedicated upon Rosh Hashanah of 516 B. C. And with this the office of *Hakôhen hamašîah*, "the Anointed Priest,"¹ the chief priest of the new sanc-

¹ Lev. 4:3, 5, 16; cf. Morgenstern, "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," *AJS* LV (1938), 26-40.

tuary, was created, with Joshua installed in that office. As the adjective indicates, the holder of this title was inducted into this high office by the rite of anointing.¹ And inasmuch as hitherto only kings of the Davidic line were inducted into office by this rite, it follows that now, in this post-exilic, Palestinian Jewish, non-political, religious community, the Anointed Priest occupied a position corresponding to that of the Davidic king in the pre-exilic Judæan nation. He was now the official, divinely chosen head of the Jewish community. And this was no longer a political entity, a kingdom, but was instead a religious community, the *qahal Yahweh*, "the Congregation" or "Community of Yahweh," as it now came to call itself,² or simply *hagahal*, "the Community."³ Of such an essentially religious body the chief priest of the Jerusalem Temple was the natural and worthy head. Obviously these Universalists accepted the program outlined for the Jewish people by Deutero-Isaiah practically in its entirety. And in conformity with that prophet's program for it and in literal fulfillment of its divinely appointed role as the '*Ebed Yahweh*,' "the Servant of Yahweh," charged to bring to all nations the knowledge of Yahweh, that thereby all mankind might find that salvation which Yahweh had purposed for it, these Universalists now inaugurated an active movement of proselytism to Judaism, which continued uninterruptedly for thirty years, so long as this second Temple stood, and won to Judaism many converts, chiefly no doubt from Israel's immediate neighbors, particularly, so it would seem, those to the North.

But by 486 B. C., after a reign of thirty-five years, Darius I, king of Persia, was growing old. Plainly his end was near. Soon a new king would ascend the Persian throne. And not at all improbably this event would be attended in greater or less degree by internal dissension within the Persian Empire. That would be an appropriate time for the Nationalists to endeavor once again to take decisive action for the fulfillment of their program.

Darius I passed away in November, 486 B. C. But already a month or two earlier, obviously in anticipation of his impending death, the Nationalists had inaugurated their campaign, and this too in logical and fitting manner. On the New Year's Day, Rosh Hashanah, i. e., in September, 486 B. C., they had inducted a descendant of David, presumably a son of Zerubabel, into the kingship by

¹ Cf. Zech. 4.14.

² Cf. Num. 16.3; 20.4; Deut. 23.2, 3, 4, 9; Mich. 2.5; I Chron. 28.8.

³ Lev. 16.33; Num. 10.7; 16.33; 19.20; Ezra 2.64; 10.12, 14; Neh. 5.13; 7.66; 8.2, 17, *et passim*.

the rite of anointing.¹ Apparently the plans of the Nationalists were already generally well known, and that too not only within the Judaeen community itself but among the neighboring nations as well; for, as Ps. 2.1-3 records, already at the very moment of the anointing of this new king of Judah, the armies of the neighboring nations, i. e., of the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and Philistines, were assembled upon the borders of Judaea, prepared to invade the land. The full story of the events which followed we have already reconstructed in detail and need not repeat here.

But here two cogent questions arise, the answers to which lie ready to hand and together brightly illumine the course of events now transpiring. The first of these questions is this: After the conquest and destruction of the nation by the Babylonians and the termination of the kingship in 586 B. C., exactly a century earlier, and then again after the utter failure of Zerubabel's campaign thirty-four years earlier and well within the experience and memory of many Nationalists still living, after these two extremely bitter experiences what could have brought the party to still believe so fervently that it was Yahweh's will that a descendant of David should once again occupy the throne of Judah? And the second question: How did it happen that upon the very day of the anointing of the new Davidic king and his installation in the royal office, the enemy, the neighboring nations, had already assembled their armies in active preparation for the invasion of Judah? And another question incidental to this: Just why should the nations immediately adjacent to Judah have now constituted the enemy, and that too manifestly an enemy bitter and implacable, savagely bent upon the utter destruction of the Jewish community? We have learned² that at the time of the Babylonian conquest of Judah, exactly one hundred years earlier, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites had been Judah's friends and allies and had provided refuge for Judaeen fugitives from Nebuchadnezzar's hostile might. There is not the slightest indication that those nations had been enemies of Judah at the time of the Zerubabel rebellion in 520-519 B. C., just thirty-four years earlier; then why should they now function as such, and especially as such bitter enemies, plainly intent upon Judah's utter destruction as a people? In this connection the words which the author of Ps. 2 puts into the mouths of the kings of these foreign nations (v. 3), "Let us tear off their, i. e., Israel's, cords and let us cast their bonds from us!" become meaningful

¹ Cf. *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 142 f., 166-176.

² *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 107 f.

indeed. Certainly at this time none of these neighboring peoples bore to Judah the slightest semblance of a relationship that could have justified words such as these put by a Judaeen writer into the mouths of the kings of these lands. What then does all this mean? What circumstances could have produced this alarming situation? And why should the author of Ps. 2 have viewed this situation so calmly and have so confidently expressed the thought (v. 8) that it was Yahweh's purpose to give to Judah, His people, the territories not only of these peoples but of all peoples even unto the very ends of the earth? Let us consider this second question first.

In Deut. 20 we have a body of war-legislation, certainly the strangest and most surprising corpus of such legislation ever devised by man. This legislation in its present form is not a literary unit but has plainly undergone expansion at various hands. Vv. 1a β -4, 8, 14b-18, 19b are all almost certainly interpolations into the original body of legislation. But even the primary body of this war-legislation is not a part of the original Deuteronomic work, but is of secondary authorship therein and therefore presumably of exilic or post-exilic composition.¹ The initial portion of this legislation, vv. 1a α , 5-7, 9, provides that a man who has not yet dedicated a newly-built house or who has planted a vineyard but has not yet "profaned" it,² or who has not yet consummated his marriage with his betrothed, shall be exempt from all military service. To this a somewhat later hand has appended the altogether harmonious legislation, that the man who fears to go out in battle shall be exempted from military service. Certainly all this constitutes the strangest imaginable way in which to recruit an army. In fact it may be doubted whether under such legislation a sizable army could be assembled at all. Quite manifestly the underlying implication is that for the armies of Israel the size thereof, measured by the number of human warriors, was a matter of little, in fact of practically no, consequence. But without an army of at least reasonable size how could Israel expect to achieve victory?

The answer to this question is provided in vv. 10-14a. There Israel is told that when it lays siege to a city it shall first invite the city to surrender. If the city responds affirmatively to this invitation and opens its gates to Israel, then all its population shall be regarded

¹ This fact was likewise established in the oft-mentioned seminar, where, beginning in 1925, when this seminar was inaugurated, we undertook a critical analysis of the Book of Deuteronomy, a task which occupied us steadily for seven successive years, and which yielded most interesting and gratifying results.

² I. e., set aside the produce of the first year of fruitage so as not to be used for any function of daily, profane living.

as Israel's booty and the city itself shall exist thereafter in a state of vassalage to Israel. But if it will not surrender but instead resorts to resistance and warfare, then, when Yahweh finally gives it over into Israel's hands, all the males within the city shall be put to death, while the women, children and cattle shall become booty for Israel. Two facts stand out here. The first is that conquest by Israel of any city which it besieges is an absolutely assured fact. And obviously, so the implication is, it is the realization in advance of this fact, that resistance to Israel on the part of any city is hopeless, which will prompt many cities to surrender readily and pacifically when summoned by Israel to do so. And the second fact which stands out is that these cities will surely fall, one after another, not primarily because of Israel's military might, but solely because Yahweh, Israel's god, will deliver all these cities, each in turn, into Israel's hands. It is Yahweh who will fight on behalf of His people and unfailingly give it victory. And, quite manifestly, with Yahweh fighting on its side and thus assuring it of victory in every battle and in every siege, the size of Israel's army is of little moment. In fact Israel's army need participate in battle or in siege for only one reason, in order that the conquered nation or city may know that Israel is its conqueror, its ruler henceforth, and that to Israel must it henceforth render homage and pay tribute. But under such conditions the size of Israel's army is of no consequence whatsoever, and therefore men may properly be released from military service for almost any reason.

But there is one further implication to this war-legislation, one of utmost significance. Israel is practically bidden by Yahweh to start upon a campaign of conquest of one city after another. There is no specification of what cities these are or in what lands, nor is there any suggestion just where and when this campaign will end. The sole import of this can be that this war-legislation envisages a campaign of unrestricted world-conquest by Israel, the conquest of one capital city and its country after another until eventually the entire world will have come into Israel's possession and a Jewish world-empire will have been established. This interpretation of this legislation is confirmed by the secondary body of legislation interpolated into it, vv. 15-18. This legislation distinguishes between Israel's conquest of the cities, and with these of course of their respective nations, those which are far off and those which are near. Within this secondary war-legislation only vv. 15-17a α are original. Vv. 17a β -18 are quite obviously late RD. And since "these nations" of v. 15 and "these peoples" of v. 16 are the nations nearest to Israel, those in immediate proximity to the land of Judah, it follows that they can

be only the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites and Philistines. For these nations the legislation provides complete extermination. It is plain that the author of this secondary war-legislation envisaged complete world-conquest by Israel, which was to commence with the subduing, with Yahweh's help of course, and the utter extermination of the nations or peoples immediately adjacent to Israel, and was then to continue with the conquest and reduction to a state of vassalage and tribute of the cities and peoples of the world more remote. And impliedly this latter process was to continue until the entire world should have been conquered and the expected, ever-enduring Jewish world-empire should have been set up.

It is apparent at the very first glance that this war-legislation reflects the program of the Nationalist Party. The primary body of this legislation reflects its program in 520 B. C., at the time of Zerubabel. Haggai too had predicted, in his final message to Zerubabel (2.22), that Yahweh would Himself destroy the power of the Persian Empire and overthrow its royal throne by bringing about internal dissension and murderous fighting within the ranks of the Persian army, so that it would annihilate itself. Under such conditions it mattered not at all whether Zerubabel could muster a large Jewish army or not. An even more illuminating picture of the working of this program of warfare set forth in this war-legislation is furnished by II Chron. 20.1-30. There, in the days of Jehosaphat, so the passage represents, Judah was gravely threatened by an invasion of the united forces of the Ammonites, Moabites and Edomites. Jehosaphat and his people are in great fear before this formidable host. But a revelation from Yahweh bids them not to fear, for they will not have to fight against this enemy. Let them go forth to battle confidently and behold for themselves what will happen. On the next day they do as Yahweh has bidden them. They go forth to the battle-field, and there, even as Yahweh has said, they do not have to fight. Instead they behold the enemy ambushed by forces whom Yahweh had set in position. And as the effect thereof the Ammonites and Moabites turn against the Edomites and slaughter them, and then they turn against each other and destroy themselves. Thus Israel gains a great victory over what are here represented as its traditional enemies, and that too entirely through the intervention of Yahweh and without its having to lift a hand. This victory is attended by the taking of much booty, even as the war-legislation in Deut. 20 contemplates. There can be no question that the author of II Chron. 20.1-30 employed this Deuteronomic war-legislation as the basis of his narrative. But it is noteworthy too that here the destruction of the Ammonite,

Moabite and Edomite host is achieved in precisely the same manner as Haggai envisaged for the Persian military array, which he contemplated as confronting the little, Jewish army of Zerubabel.

And that the author of II Chron. 20.1-30 should have represented the Ammonites, Moabites and Edomites as Judah's traditional enemies and as destroyed in this manner by Yahweh, while Judah looks quietly on is certainly not without significance, for it confirms our inference that these were the nations which the secondary stratum of the war-legislation in Deut. 20.15-17a^a envisaged in "these nations," those which were not remote from Judaea. And this confirmation makes plain the full import of this war-legislation. It is all the work of members of the Nationalist Party and sets up its program for achieving the promised Jewish world-empire. The primary stratum of this legislation, that which contemplated world-conquest by Israel with Yahweh's irresistible aid, came from within the ranks of the party in anticipation of the Zerubabel rebellion in 520 B. C. The secondary stratum, that which promised the conquest of the nations who were not distant from Judah, i. e., the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites and Philistines, and enjoined the total extermination of these peoples, must have been formulated within Nationalist Party ranks during the period when it operated secretly, i. e., shortly before 486 B. C. In some manner, however, its program with regard to these neighboring nations must have become known to them fairly early. This would account with good reason for their savage hostility to Judah and for their preparedness for immediate and decisive action already upon the day of the anointing of the new king of Judah by the Nationalists upon Rosh Hashanah, in September of 486 B. C. This was the moment and this was the action which launched this second attempt by the Nationalists to achieve Jewish political independence, to establish a Jewish world-empire, and to set a king of the Davidic line upon the throne. And for this moment the nations neighboring on Judah, who, according to this final form of this war-legislation, would have been the first and most extreme victims of the Nationalist program, were fully prepared.

Further confirmation that this war-legislation emerged from the ranks of the Nationalists and that it was linked in particular with the Nationalist uprising in 486 B. C. may be found in Ps. 44 and 60 (= 108). Ps. 44 we have discussed in considerable detail and have determined its import for our study.¹ We have there established that this Ps. envisages the catastrophe of 485 B. C. Within this Ps. v. 12

¹ *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 135-38.

supports strongly our present thesis. It says that Yahweh became angry and let His people be put to shame and would not go out with its troops, go out of course in order to fight for them in battle and give them the promised victory over their enemies. The same thought is repeated in abbreviated form in Ps. 60.12. Solely because Yahweh has acted thus with relation to His people has this great calamity befallen them. Clearly the thought implicit in this charge, here voiced against Yahweh, is based, to some extent at least, upon this war-legislation and its promise that Yahweh would, in Israel's war to establish its world-empire, and particularly in its impending struggle with its immediate neighbors (cf. Ps. 44.14), fight on its behalf and assuredly give it victory. Because of Yahweh's failure to redeem the promise of this war-legislation Israel finds itself in its present sad, even tragic, situation.

Certainly the confident expectation that Israel was destined by Yahweh to establish a world-empire inherent in this war-legislation, voiced in the primary stratum thereof, was one of the potent antecedents of the rebellion of Zerubabel in 520-519 B. C. And equally certainly the Nationalist program of inaugurating the conquest of the world by a war of extermination of the nations immediately contiguous to it, voiced in the secondary stratum of this war-legislation, was the immediate forerunner of this second Nationalist uprising and of the bitter catastrophe which befell the Jewish community of Judaea in 486-5 B. C. In each instance the particular war-legislation, together with the far-reaching promise inherent in it, must have imparted confidence and stimulus to the Nationalists and have impelled them to launch the two campaigns.

And still another important antecedent of the two Nationalist uprisings and a potent stimulus to both of them was the concept of Yahweh's covenant with David. The primary record thereof is in II Sam. 7. The narrative tells of David's eager desire to erect a sanctuary for Yahweh. This Yahweh postpones for a son of David to erect. But as recompense for David's eager and faithful devotion to Him Yahweh makes a covenant, an eternal covenant, with him. Israel shall be an ever-enduring people, Yahweh's people forever. And forever upon its throne shall sit a descendant of David, one after another in never-ending succession. This shall be indeed an eternal dynasty. Between Yahweh and Davidic king the father-son relationship shall obtain. Accordingly should any Davidic king transgress against Yahweh, Yahweh would not remove him from office and still less would He terminate the Davidic dynasty. Instead Yahweh would discipline him with ordinary, human punishments.

The mere fact that by 586 B. C., when the last Davidic king, Zedekiah, was driven from the throne by the Babylonians and was executed, the dynasty had ruled, with only a brief interruption under Athaliah, for well over four hundred years, a very long term indeed for any single dynasty in all world-history, undoubtedly imparted credence to the tradition. Moreover, the fact that no new dynasty of kings had replaced it lent additional validity to the theory and belief that nominally the dynasty of David still occupied Judah's throne.

The question at issue is just when did this tradition of Yahweh's covenant with David arise. That this record in II Sam. 7 may not be interpreted literally, as actual history, is certain. There is every reason to believe that David was until his very end satisfied with the tent-sanctuary which, relatively recently, so it would seem, he had erected for Yahweh in Jerusalem (II Sam. 6.17) and that he never contemplated the erection of a new sanctuary, a structure of an altogether different and far more elaborate type. Furthermore, Solomon erected his new Temple, not at all to fulfill the purpose of his father nor yet merely as the expression of his own devotion to Yahweh and gratitude to Him for His manifest and abundant favor. Under Solomon Israel became a true empire, for the time being the leading state in all Western Asia. Its old pastoral and agricultural economy gave way to a new, commercial economy. It transacted business with Egypt, the various states of Western Asia, and, through its treaty relations with Tyre, even with the nations and peoples of the far-reaching Mediterranean world. With all this its culture and political and social outlook and organization naturally changed radically and rapidly. And with this, not at all surprisingly, its religion underwent a significant and far-reaching transformation. Yahweh was now no longer merely a pastoral, nor yet essentially an agricultural, deity, as He had hitherto been generally conceived of. He was now a national deity of world-proportions in the truest sense of the term. The old tent-sanctuary, typical of a desert, pastoral deity, such as He had been at first, no longer sufficed for Him. And so Solomon erected a new Temple essentially in response to the needs and compulsions of the time. But certainly David never dreamed of a sanctuary such as this; and still less did he charge Solomon, his son, to build such a sanctuary.

Furthermore, the concept of an eternal dynasty naturally suggests the perspective of a long, historic experience. At the very best such a concept could have evolved, not at all in the time of David himself nor yet in that of Solomon, but only, at the very earliest, after the dynasty had occupied the throne of Judah for many years and through a long succession of kings. But when we link this consideration with

the fact that the narrative represents Yahweh's making this covenant with David as occasioned by the latter's desire to build a Temple for Yahweh and that this task is delegated to a son of David, and since the son of David here destined to erect this sanctuary can not possibly be Solomon, it follows necessarily that it could have been only one person, viz. Zerubabel, whom both Haggai and Zechariah called upon to build the second Temple, and that this entire concept of Yahweh's covenant with David, as it is formulated and set forth in II Sam. 7, can have been evolved only in anticipation of Zerubabel's becoming king of Judah and thus reviving the dynasty of David. Plainly then this entire tradition of the Davidic covenant was a Nationalist Party fabrication. And plainly too, when once it had become sufficiently widely diffused and had found adequate acceptance, it became an effective stimulus for the enforcement of the Nationalist program, one of the potent antecedents of the rebellion of Zerubabel.

But that it served as a stimulus for the uprising in 486 B. C. also is evidenced by one important consideration. The covenant terms provided, as has been said, for the father-son relationship between Yahweh and each successive Davidic king, a relationship which became real with the anointing and throne-ascension of each king. Actually this concept was in no wise the creation of the Nationalist Party in 520 B. C. From the time of Solomon on this relationship had been conceived as existing between Yahweh and every successive reigning king of the Davidic line.¹ The Nationalist Party merely seized upon this ancient concept and incorporated it into their formula of Yahweh's covenant with David. But it is significant that Ps. 2, the precise date of which we have fixed for Rosh Hashanah, 486 B. C., the day of the anointing of the new king of Davidic descent, gives distinct expression to this concept. V.7a β b represents Yahweh as saying of the Davidic king, just anointed, and who, nominally at least, had just ascended the Davidic throne. "I will say unto him: My son art thou; this very day have I begotten thee."² Plainly then this doctrine of Yahweh's eternal covenant with David, formulated by the Nationalist Party in or about 520 B. C., was still, in 486 B. C., one of the potent forces which paved the way for the Nationalist uprising in that year with its sad and tragic consequences.

¹ This matter I have developed in full in a paper entitled "The King-God among the Western Semites and in Ancient Israel," presented at the International Congress of Historians of Religion in Rome in 1955, and which is scheduled to appear in *Vetus Testamentum* X (1960).

² For the textually emended form of this v. cf. my study, "ושקן בר," in *JQR* XXXI (1942), 381.

Such in brief were the antecedents in history of the tragic catastrophe which befell Jerusalem and the Jewish community of Palestine in 485 B. C.

XII

THE SEQUEL OF THE CATASTROPHE

Immediately following the bitter catastrophe of 485 B. C. the Jewish community of Palestine was left in a state of utter confusion, disorganization and chaos. A large section of the people had been massacred by the conquering and vindictive enemy. Another, equally large section, so it would seem, had been taken captive and sold in the slave-markets of Tyre, Sidon and Gaza, largely to the Greeks across the sea. The community remaining in the land was but a pitiful fragment of what it had been previously, probably not exceeding a few thousand souls. Jerusalem was in ruins; its walls were destroyed and its gates burned. The city was almost completely depopulated.¹ The community was scattered throughout the Judaeen province and reduced once again to an agricultural, and no doubt in some localities even to a pastoral, way of life and economy.

The Nationalist Party was crushed and, for the moment at least, its spirit was broken. As Ps. 44.10-27 and likewise Isa. 64.4-11² indicate, certain individuals among the survivors of the catastrophe went so far as to blame Yahweh Himself for deserting, or even betraying, His people and allowing this catastrophe to befall them. The Nationalist hope of a Jewish world-empire was now ended, and, as an active force in Jewish life, apparently forever. So far as we can learn from the exceedingly scanty evidence at our disposal, there were no further attempts to throw off foreign dominion and regain political independence until the Maccabean revolution more than three hundred years later, when, not the Persian, but the Syrian rule was repudiated and Judah became once again an independent political state, a kingdom. But this resulted not at all from the prodding of a persistent, though perhaps hidden, Nationalist Party and program, but rather from causes arising spontaneously in reaction to Syrian oppression. Nor was an attempt ever made to set upon the throne

¹ Note that some forty or fifty years later, despite a definite improvement in the political and economic situation of the community, Nehemiah was compelled to repopulate the now rewallled city by drawing quotas for this purpose from the rural sections of the community (Neh. 11.1 ff.).

² Cf. *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 175, note 134.

once again a king of Davidic or supposedly Davidic descent, nor did the Asmoneans, a family of Levitical priestly origin, ever claim Davidic ancestry for themselves. For so long as the Persian Empire endured, i. e., for approximately a century and a half after 485 B. C., the Jewish community remained, apparently quietly and resignedly, an integral part thereof.

But not only were the hopes and dreams of the Nationalist Party crushed and dead, at least for the moment, but also and apparently in even greater measure those of the Universalist Party. The destruction of the Temple and the consequent cessation of all active and authoritative worship therein terminated necessarily and completely the entire Universalist program of conversion of foreigners to Judaism. In all subsequent Biblical writings only occasionally is the issue of proselytism raised in sympathetic manner.¹ The Universalist Party, with its proselyting program as the fulfillment of Deutero-Isaiah's message of Israel as the destined agent of Yahweh's purpose of universal salvation, now came to a sudden and complete end. Yahweh, Israel's god, despite His manifold promises to them and His covenant-obligation to them, had not been able to provide salvation for His own people: How then might He be expected to bring salvation to peoples completely foreign to Him, and that too in a manner calculated to convince them of His power and of His benevolent purpose for them? Moreover, even were a foreigner inclined to convert to Judaism and become a worshiper of Yahweh, the means for so doing, a suitable sanctuary as the center of true Yahweh-worship, no longer existed. The Universalist Party and its program now ceased to function and apparently disintegrated, never again to be actively revived in all the course of Judaism through history.

Contrary to what we are told about Xerxes by Josephus,² who confused him with Artaxerxes, his son and successor upon the Persian throne, this king was not at all well disposed toward the little, surviving Jewish community of Palestine. The title, *hamešîk*, "the Oppressor,"³ seems to have been current within the tiny Jewish community for this Persian monarch. During his twenty years reign (485-465 B. C.) the Persian yoke apparently rested heavily upon the community. However, because of their then paucity of numbers, the resultant lack of qualified warriors within it and the general hostility to it of the current Persian royal administration, the community was apparently not required to furnish any quota of warriors to the vast Persian

¹ Cf. below, p. 20.

² *Ant.* XI, 5.

³ Isa. 51.13; cf. *HUCA* XXVIII (1957), 17, note 3.

army which Xerxes assembled for his disastrous invasion of Greece. The neighboring nations and peoples, Israel's bitter enemies, who had crushed her so completely in 485 B. C., as might have been expected, did, so it seems, supply each a full and numerous quota. From this campaign of Xerxes against Greece many, perhaps the majority, of these warriors never returned to their native lands, and their respective nations were left in consequence but shadows of what they had been but a few years earlier in the heyday of their strength. They were truly now, as the Bible repeatedly calls them, only remnants of their former selves.¹ Their power was now broken as completely as was that of Israel. In consequence Edom, Moab and Ammon quickly became ready prey for the Nabataeans, Bedouin clans who, taking advantage of the present weakness of these peoples, now began to overrun their lands and also the Negeb district of Southern Judaea as well, and who eventually established a Nabataean state therein. Actually these Nabataeans seem to have disturbed the Jewish community but little, if at all, probably because they did not penetrate as far north as the territory of Jewish settlement.

It is to this period and as the reflection of the international situation in these lands that we must assign not only Isa. 34; 63.1-6; Obad.; Mal. 1.2-5, with their repeated prediction of the doom of the Edomites, but also such passages, written or spoken largely from the Nationalist standpoint as Isa. 49.17-26; 60.10a; 61.5. And it was undoubtedly in this period that a considerable group of Edomites, seeking refuge from their Nabataean conquerors, migrated from their native land, established themselves in Southern Judaea and there gradually intermarried with their Jewish neighbors and became the forerunners of the later Idumaeon section of the Jewish people from which King Herod sprang.

Still other passages from the Book of Isaiah come from this period following 485 B. C., all of them mirroring the catastrophe in one way or another, and with their wide range in thought revealing the gradually changing and reviving spirit of the Jewish community of Palestine. As has already been demonstrated,² Isa. 63.15-64.11, with its dominant mood of grief and despair, must have been uttered very soon after the catastrophe. To the same period, though from a slightly later moment, since in it the voice of hope is beginning to be heard once again, must be assigned Isa. 51. From the same period and dating probably from about the time of the death of Xerxes and the accession

¹ Cf. Morgenstern, "The Rest of the Nations," *Journal of Semitic Studies* II (1957), 225-231.

² *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 147-50.

of Artaxerxes I to the throne came Isa. 60.8-22, which, reminiscent in no small degree of the dreams and hopes of the Nationalist Party, envisages the triumphant return by ship of Jewish exiles from across the sea and the subservient homage to them of foreign kings and queens; 61.2-9, which predicts the restoration of the land and its ruined cities, with foreigners enslaved, functioning as Israel's shepherds and gardeners; 49.8-26, which in broad and daring strokes pictures the restoration of Yahweh's favor, the renewal of the land and its waste cities and even the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its walls, and this too performed by those very foreign peoples which had laid it in ruins; 42.14+62.1-12, a sequel to 63.15-64.11, which envisages the renewal of Israel's relations of trust in Yahweh, the restoration of the land and even the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its walls. These latter prophetic addresses are certainly earlier than Nehemiah's rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in 444 B. C. and evidence graphically the place which this project held in the longing Nationalist hope, still lingering, though certainly in greatly attenuated form, within at least certain sections of the little community. Likewise from this same period and voicing much the same thought and spirit is Isa. 54.1-10.

From 459 or even early in 458 B. C. comes the address in Isa. 40.1-5, 9-10a; 52.1-12;¹ which is animated by a decidedly ritualistic outlook and deals quite obviously with the impending return of Ezra and his priestly band, coming from Babylonia by the Southern route through the desert, bringing with them the sacred vessels of the Temple and anticipating in the immediate future the erection of the new Temple structure. 54.11-17 comes likewise from this same period.

As has been said, during the period immediately following 485 B. C., there was no Temple. With this the influence of the Levitical priests, who had functioned in the second Temple, must have dwindled greatly. Once again, even as during the period of the exile,² the Synagogue became the center of Jewish worship. But throughout this period and until the erection of the third Temple by Ezra shortly after 458 B. C. there was no central place of worship, no centralized religion and no central authority. In whatever still remained of Jerusalem and its former population the "Anointed Priest" and his family continued, so it would seem, to exercise a measure of leadership; but for the time being, so it would seem also, this leadership was more nominal than actual. Away from Jerusalem, in the synagogues of

¹ Reconstructed thus: 40.1-2; 52.1-6, 11-12; 40.3-4; 52.7-10; 40.9-10a, 5.

² Cf. Morgenstern, "The Origin of the Synagogue," in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (1956), II, 192-201.

the land more or less divergent patterns of religious belief and worship now began to evolve. The greater the distance from Jerusalem the wider this divergence seems to have become and the more influenced by local tradition and custom. And this divergence manifested itself not only in forms of worship, in liturgical practice, but also in the content of belief and doctrine. Here, at this time and under these conditions we have quite obviously the actual beginnings of Jewish sectarianism.

One of the potent influences in the development of Jewish sectarianism seems to have been, as has already been intimated, the incompleteness of Deutero-Isaiah's message. He had affirmed that Israel was the servant of Yahweh, His chosen agent of His universal salvation. But beyond stating that Israel was to function as His witness unto the peoples of the world, the prophet did not define wherein Israel's service would consist nor how it would be effected. The Universalists, so we have learned, had offered, during the brief, thirty-years period that the second Temple had stood, one answer to this question implicit in the prophet's message in their program of proselytism to Judaism. But as we have learned also, this program had been terminated suddenly and completely by the catastrophe of 485 B. C. and the destruction of the Temple. Now, in the post-485 B. C. period, after the voice of hope had begun to utter itself anew and a certain, even though a quite minimal, revival of Universalistic thought asserted itself, at least in certain sectarian circles, a new solution of the problem of the nature of the service of salvation which Israel was to perform was proposed in, not the "Songs," as they are generally termed, but rather the drama of the Suffering Servant.

This drama consists of three acts and nine scenes.¹ In Isa. 42.1-4 (Act I, Scene 1) Yahweh, as the speaker, presents His servant to the nations; in 42.6-7 (Scene 2) Yahweh addresses the servant and informs him what his mission is; in 61.1+49.9a+61.10 (Scene 3) the servant communes with himself on the nature of the task thus entrusted to him by Yahweh and his equipment for it; in 49.1-6 (Scene 4) the servant delivers his initial address to the nations and informs them

¹ Since the preparation of this present study I have written up, in the form of a rather lengthy article, entitled "The Suffering Servant — A New Solution," the results of my study of the Suffering Servant passages in Deutero-Isaiah. Therein I present the text of this document with translation and critical notes. I have, however, there discarded the division of the drama into the somewhat modern scheme of acts and scenes, as is here outlined, and have instead presented it in the customary form of a Greek drama, with designation by name of the successive speakers, including the Chorus. This study is scheduled to appear in *Vetus Testamentum* XI (1961).

of his divinely appointed mission to them, as he understands it. In 50.4-9a (Act II, Scene 1) the servant soliloquizes again. His mission to the nations is now well under way. He has encountered naught but resistance to his efforts, accompanied by abundant contumely and torture. But his faith in Yahweh and in his divinely appointed service has not faltered in the least. And so he climaxes his soliloquy with the affirmation that he knows that his Vindicator is close at hand. In 50.10 (Scene 2) a voice speaks from off-stage; it is the voice of the Vindicator, justifying the servant against all his adversaries by affirming that he is indeed Yahweh's agent and is truly fulfilling a divine mission; thus the voice confirms the servant's appraisal of himself and his labors thus far of the immediately preceding scene. In 52.13-15 (Act III, Scene 1) another voice from off-stage is heard announcing to an impersonal audience¹ that the servant of Yahweh is dead and the manner, strange indeed in many details, in which death had befallen him. This suggests that these details were meaningful indeed. Also the tenses of the verbs here suggest that the servant is still suspended.² Whether the implication is that the servant was put to death by being impaled or hung or crucified is not clear, but the further implication of vv. 14-15 is that his corpse was allowed to remain for some time in its suspended position, exposed to the gaze of the wondering masses. This paves the way with extreme dramatic effect for the next scene. In 53.1-10, the longest scene of the entire drama, the speakers are the masses, redeemed by the servant's tragic death. They confess their iniquities, acknowledge that they have misjudged the servant, that he had died voluntarily, after enduring extreme humiliation and suffering, in their behalf, that he was indeed the scapegoat for them, that in all this, even in the manner of his death, he had consciously and willingly carried out Yahweh's purpose, had in truth performed the service destined by Yahweh for him, and that a long-enduring, never-ending posterity will succeed him, through which Yahweh's purpose will come to fulfillment. It is significant that here, in the mouths of these speakers, the word, salvation, does not occur, nor any affirmation by them that they had found the salvation which they so eagerly desired. But actually it was not for them, but

¹ Not to the nations, for, as these vv. state, they or their representatives had themselves witnessed all that is here recounted.

² For *ישכיל*, which is altogether meaningless here and has no possible connection with the thought of the passage which follows immediately, read *ישקל* and translate:

52.13 Behold, the servant of Yahweh is suspended,
He is lifted up and raised aloft, yea, very high.

rather for Yahweh, to declare this; and this He does in the next and what is logically and actually the final scene of the drama. In fact this speech by these redeemed masses, tantamount to a confession of sin by them and their recognition and open acknowledgment of the true role of the servant, is concrete proof that divine purpose was fulfilled through him. In the final scene of the drama, 53.11 f. (Scene 3) Yahweh Himself is again the speaker, even as He was in the first two scenes. Here He affirms positively that the servant had indeed wrought salvation for mankind, and that too in the manner announced by Yahweh in Act I, Scene 1, by establishing proper world-order, *mišpaṭ*, and proclaiming His law, *tôrah*, to the world. Thus the servant has brought vindication to the masses, the *rabbîm*, and freedom from unjust imprisonment, while their oppressors, the *‘ašûmîm*, "the mighty ones," have been overcome and apparently reduced to the very state of subjection in which they had formerly held the innocent masses.

Truly we have here, in very brief compass, a most powerful and stirring drama, complete in every detail. And it should be clear that the servant can be only a royal figure, a king of Israel, as indeed the facts that he is anointed (61.1), that he bears the name or title, Israel (49.3),¹ and that he is to be followed by a long posterity, indicate. It may well be that this concept of a Jewish king suffering and dying as a scapegoat for his people or for all mankind was suggested by the fate of the king anointed on the New Year's Day of 486 B. C. and but a few months later captured and no doubt savagely executed by the vindictive Edomites (cf. Lam. 4.20). That this Suffering Servant drama expresses a definitely sectarian concept of Deutero-Isaiah's doctrine of Israel as the servant of Yahweh there can be little question. It need not be too surprising that we should thus have in Biblical literature a drama, modelled in large degree, it seems certain, after the established Greek drama pattern, when we bear in mind that during the period 460-450 B. C. Dor, a seaport on the Palestinian coast, was held and garrisoned by the Athenians, and that Greek cultural influence may well have radiated thence to the immediately adjacent districts of Palestine.² This would suggest that this Biblical Suffering Servant drama was composed and that the Jewish sect whose interpretation of the Deutero-Isaianic doctrine it voices flour-

¹ For the designation in Hebrew practice of a Jewish king by the name of his country cf. *HUCA* XXVIII (1957), 27 f.

² Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, II, 139, note 182; Heichelheim, "Ezra's Palestine and Periclean Athens," in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, III (1951), 251-253.

ished at about 450 B. C. and that too in all likelihood in the vicinity of Dor.

As has been said, the prophetic address in Isa. 40.1-5, 9-11; 52.1-12 envisages the return of Ezra and the rebuilding of the Temple. Ezra came to Jerusalem with a commission from Artaxerxes I to restore the Temple structure and to revive its sacrificial cult.¹ He was a priest of the Zadokite line and was undoubtedly greatly influenced by the prophetic message of his fellow-Zadokite priest, Ezekiel, that "for His name's sake," for the sake of His reputation as a true and powerful god, Yahweh would at the proper time bring back His people from Babylonian exile to their ancestral land, would there remove from their breasts the hard heart of stone, which had prompted them to sin and rebellion against Him, and would then take the thus regenerate people to Himself once again as His own people (Ezek. 36.16-32; 39.23-29). Now, some one hundred and fifteen or so years after Ezekiel had proclaimed this message, Ezra, the prophet's fellow-Zadokite, thought that the time had come at last for Yahweh to act in the manner predicted by Ezekiel. The times were favorable indeed. Artaxerxes I, the Persian king, son of Xerxes, "the Oppressor," had demonstrated during his seven years upon the throne thus far that, so far as the Jewish people was concerned, his policy was the complete reverse of that of his father.² And so Ezra was commissioned by the king, and material means were placed at his disposal, to rebuild the Temple. The king even offered to Ezra Persian military protection upon the difficult journey back to Jerusalem. But this Ezra, relying undoubtedly upon Ezekiel's doctrine that Yahweh would Himself bring His people back in safety to their ancestral land, and in order to demonstrate concretely to the king, to the world at large, and perhaps particularly to the Jewish people itself Yahweh's true, divine nature and power, refused, maintaining that, in fulfillment of His promise, Yahweh would Himself conduct His people safely to their cherished goal (cf. Ezra 8.21 f.). In addition to the task of rebuilding the Temple Ezra exercised, by royal commission, the power to appoint judges and other officials over the people

¹ Ezra 7.1 ff.; cf. the explicit statement regarding the reerection of the Temple in Ezra 9.9.

² Heichelheim, in the afore-cited article, calls attention to the fact that at just this time the Persian royal administration was experiencing trouble in the West through the attempts of the Egyptians to throw off the Persian yoke and regain political independence and also through the closely related, open hostility to Persia of the Athenian military garrison at Dor in Palestine. He suggests that it may therefore have seemed expedient to Artaxerxes I to appease the peoples of the Persian provinces in the far West, and among them of course the Jewish people.

(Ezra 7.25). Plainly, while not at all the Persian governor of the province, he was a person of high official position and of great influence within the Jewish community and able therefore to impose his will and his program and those of his fellow-Zadokite priests, who had accompanied him, upon the entire community.

It would seem that thus cherishing the message of Ezekiel with regard to the eventual return to their ancestral land through all the years which had elapsed since it was first uttered, these Zadokite priests had, from an early moment in the exilic period, evolved a definite program of life and action so far as their sojourn in Babylon was concerned. Their primary task there was to preserve their Jewish and priestly identity so far as their Babylonian environment was concerned. For this purpose they had developed a program of extreme separatism and particularism, which effectually reduced all social intercourse with their Babylonian neighbors to a minimum. Inter-marriage with non-Jews was strictly taboo. Likewise the practice of eating, with attendant social intercourse, with strangers was reduced to almost nothing by developing an extensive system of forbidden foods. These and other closely related customs and institutions, and with this their entire program of particularism and separatism, all imported from Babylonia, Ezra and his priestly associates now succeeded in imposing gradually and surely upon the entire Jewish community of Palestine. Particularism, the very antithesis of the former Universalism, now became the dominant principle of Jewish life and existence and, with only occasional variations in degree, has remained such to this very day. In conformity with this program and following the completion of his primary task, the erection of the Temple, Ezra inaugurated his policy of divorce and sending away of foreign wives (Ezra 9-10) and likewise the exclusion from the new Temple and reduction to a position of tolerated inferiority within the community of those who had converted to Judaism, had settled in the country and had been incorporated into the community under the liberal program of the proselyting Universalists.¹

With the completion of the third Temple quite naturally a bitter struggle was inaugurated between the Levitical priests, who had functioned in priestly capacity within the second Temple, and the Zadokite priests who had returned with Ezra, and whose ancestors had exercised the priestly rights and prerogatives and discharged all priestly functions in the first Temple and who, despite the provisions of the Deuteronomic Reformation (Deut. 18.6-8), had succeeded in

¹ Ezek. 44.6-10; cf. Isa. 56.3-7 and likewise the Books of Jonah and Ruth, all manifestly the products of this period.

preventing the Levitical priests coming up to Jerusalem from other, now disused, sanctuaries, from acquiring any priestly position within the Temple (II Kings 23.9). This struggle between these two priestly factions was not settled quickly, but apparently persisted for many years. At the outset of the struggle the Levitical priests enjoyed two decided advantages. Elyashib, who was still alive and functioning as Anointed Priest at the time of Ezra's return, and in fact still in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3.1), was of the Levitical branch of the priesthood and likewise his son, Joyada, who succeeded him in office; and certainly in this struggle it was to the advantage of the Levitical priests that the family of the Anointed Priest came from their ranks. And a second, and perhaps even greater, advantage was the fact that these Levitical priests traced their descent directly from Moses through Eli and his descendant, Ebyathar.¹ To counteract this latter advantage the Zadokites framed the tradition that they were descended from Aaron, Moses' brother. Moreover, they formulated a new office and a new title to replace those of Anointed Priest, which the Levitical priestly family had held for almost a century, those of *hakôhen hagadôl*, "the High-Priest," and held that Aaron had been the first to bear this title, that he, and not Moses at all, had been from the very first the chief priestly functionary of Yahweh, and that from him, through his son 'El'azar, they were all descended in direct line, and therefore had prior claim to the supreme priesthood in the new Temple.² Like the Anointed Priest, the High-Priest was inducted into his sacred office by the rite of anointing (Ex. 29.7), and thus, like his predecessor, was regarded as the replacement for the pre-exilic, anointed king as the recognized head of the community.

Ezra had established relations of friendship and cooperation with Johanan, the son of Joyada, the son of Elyashib, while Johanan was manifestly still a relatively young man, in the early stages of his priestly ministry in the Temple (Ezra 10.6). As the Elephantine documents³ indicate, Johanan was the High-Priest in 411 B. C. He had achieved the high-priesthood by the slaying of his brother, Joshua, within the Temple precincts.⁴ Joshua has been supported in

¹ Cf. I Sam. 2.27 f.; 14.3; 22.20.

² For all this cf. my earlier studies, "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA* X (1935), 119-132, "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages* LV (1938), 25-58. However, a few of the details set forth in these two studies I would now, some twenty-odd years later, emend rather drastically.

³ Sachau, *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunde*; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, 112, l. 18.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* XI, 7, 1.

his candidacy for this office by Bagoas, the Persian military governor of the province. Apparently party policies and differences were involved in this succession to the high-priesthood and its attendant circumstances. We may readily surmise therefore that Johanan enjoyed the support of the Zadokite priestly group, while Joshua, his brother, in addition to the support of Bagoas, had the backing of his own family and of his fellow Levitical priests. We can readily imagine that this struggle for the priesthood within the third Temple was settled soon after the accession of Johanan to the high-priesthood, and settled, as might have been anticipated, by a compromise between the two priestly families, a compromise, however, which, quite naturally, favored the priestly family then in power, the Zadokites. A reflection of this compromise settlement may probably be seen in I Chron. 24.1-5, which tells that in the ultimate distribution of the priestly posts and functions the descendants of 'El'azar, the older son of Aaron, i. e., the Zadokites, received two portions, while the descendants of Ithamar, the younger brother, received only one portion. The two names, Ithamar (אִיתָמָר) and Ebyathar (אֲבִיתָר), are so closely similar in written form and also even in sound that it is reasonable to suppose that the former represents a purposed modification of the latter. Accordingly the descendants of Ithamar would have been the posterity of Ebyathar. Thus the rivalry between the two chief priests of Solomon's Temple, Ebyathar and Zadok, with its far-reaching, historical consequences, was ultimately settled more than five centuries later by a one-sided compromise between their descendants. It was these Zadokite priests who eventually compiled the Priestly Code, with its distinctly separatistic and ritualistic program, and made it practically the constitution of the reorganized community, the *'adat Yisra'el*, "the congregation of Israel," as it now came to call itself. The particularistic implications of this new designation of the Jewish community, particularly as contrasted with its antecedent term, *qahal Yahweh*, "the assembly of Yahweh," are readily apparent.

Just how long it may have taken Ezra to erect the third Temple we have no way of knowing, but judging from the records concerning the first two Temples we may be sure that at least several years were needed for this purpose. But be that as it may, we may be certain that the new Temple was in finished condition by 450 B. C. and perhaps even somewhat earlier. When this project was completed Ezra had at his disposal a body of trained workers in stone and other building operations. We have learned¹ that already in the period

¹ Above, p. 19.

immediately preceding Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem and likewise soon thereafter various prophetic voices had expressed the confident expectation that within a not too long time the walls of Jerusalem would be rebuilt and the city be restored to its ancient glory.¹ From the absence within these same prophetic utterances of almost all reference to the rebuilding of the Temple we may safely infer that the popular desire for rebuilding of the walls of the city exceeded by far that for the rebuilding of the Temple. We can readily understand therefore that after the new Temple had been erected and work thereon had ceased, a popular demand arose that Ezra undertake to rebuild the city walls, and this especially since he now had at his disposal a considerable body of workmen experienced in this type of work. We can imagine that with the passing days and months, and perhaps even years, this demand increased in intensity and that popular pressure upon Ezra became steadily greater. What his own personal attitude toward this project may have been we have no way of knowing. It may well be that his own personal inclination was in that direction and that he yielded readily to the public urging. On the other hand it may equally well be that he felt that with the erection of the Temple he had completely discharged what he undoubtedly felt to be both his royal and his divine commission, and that accordingly he refused to let himself be drawn into this new and, so far as he was concerned, unauthorized project.

But be all this as it may, it is certain that the rebuilding of the city walls was begun relatively soon after the completion of the third Temple. And if not Ezra himself, then some one of his lieutenants, some one from within the ranks of the Babylonian exiles who had returned with him, must have assumed leadership in the project. The workmen were ready to hand; material was gathered and the work was inaugurated. There can be no question that the record in Ezra 4.7-23 refers to this particular event. Ezra 4.12 states simply and directly that responsible for this attempt to rebuild the walls and restore the city of Jerusalem was a body of Jews who had come thither from Persia, even from the very presence of the king himself. We may be sure that the migration of such a body of Jews, and particularly as the words, *min l'watak*, i. e., from the immediate presence of the king and with a direct commission from him, seem to imply, was a rare event indeed. Accordingly it is an altogether reasonable inference that the body of Jews in question was Ezra and his band.

This conclusion finds a strong measure of confirmation in one important consideration. If we assume that the restoration of the

¹ Cf. Isa. 54.12; 60.10 f.; 62.6.

city and the rebuilding of the walls, under the leadership of these returned Jewish exiles, was commenced at or soon after 450 B. C., we may assume also that the inauguration of this project was slow and that it was carried on upon a not too extensive scale. It may have continued for even two or three years before the work achieved sufficient magnitude to attract the attention of the governor of the Persian province of Transpotamia and to suggest to him just what the ultimate purpose of the builders really was. But be that as it may, the facts eventually dawned upon these high Persian officials and they reported to the Persian king, as was their obvious duty, just what was going on in Jerusalem, with the strong recommendation that for the national welfare the project be halted completely by royal edict. And just this was done, and that too by military enforcement.

Now, as has already been suggested,¹ Nehemiah must have been well informed in a general way of what was transpiring in Jerusalem, although apparently he had no knowledge whatever of the royal edict that the work on the walls be stopped permanently. Certainly, as has already been suggested, when he inquired of the deputation which, led by his brother, Hanani, came to him in Susa in December, 445 B. C., as to the state of affairs in Jerusalem, he anticipated a favorable answer, and, among other things, he surely expected to hear that the rebuilding of the walls of the city, if not yet actually completed, was steadily advancing toward that state. The information communicated to him with regard to the city itself and the state of its inhabitants both shocked and grieved him exceedingly. It is a safe inference that his brother, Hanani, certainly born in Babylonia, had been among those who had gone up to Jerusalem with Ezra in 458 B. C. and had participated actively in all the various communal projects since then. Unquestionably Nehemiah was fully acquainted with the plan to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and endorsed it unqualifiedly. All this accounts for his deep sorrow when the true state of affairs in Jerusalem was communicated to him, for his appeal to the king to be permitted to go up to Jerusalem, restore the city and rebuild its walls (Neh. 2.1-9), and for his acting, after his arrival in Jerusalem, with such despatch in rebuilding the walls, despite the opposition of Sanballat and his associates; for plainly he feared that when these Persian officials would report to the king just what was now being done in Jerusalem under his direction, even as their predecessors in office had done but a few years previously, and would urgently recommend, as they were certain to do, that the rebuilding of the walls be stopped again, this would, despite the favor which he himself

¹ *HUCA* XXVII (1956), 104 f.

enjoyed with the king, be done. Plainly Nehemiah resumed the rebuilding of the walls at the point where it had been interrupted by the royal decree just a few years earlier. And in due time and before he had, in accordance with his understanding with the king (Neh. 2.6), exhausted the leave of absence from his court duties which the king had granted him, and likewise before the hostile Persian provincial officials, acting under royal sanction, could intervene and halt his activities, the work was completed. And with the Temple rebuilt and the walls of the city now standing, we may be sure that the rehabilitation of the city advanced at a steady pace. And when in 432 B. C., Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem in the role of governor of the province, appointed by the king, and repopulated the city by drafting sections of the rural population for that purpose, prosperity returned to the city and once again it tended to become an important commercial center.¹

For all practical purposes the effects of the catastrophe of 485 B. C. upon the Jewish community of Palestine and upon the city of Jerusalem were now, viewed in a broad sense, remedied. From this point on the history of the Jewish community in Palestine advanced in quite normal manner.

¹ Neh. 11.1 ff.; 13.14-21.

THE EMERGENCE OF A ROYAL-URBAN SOCIETY IN ANCIENT ISRAEL*

EDWARD NEUFELD, Grand Rapids, Michigan

ONE of the broadest and most revealing of all contrasts under the united monarchy in ancient Israel is that exhibited in the differences between newly developed urban life and that of the old conservative rural life.¹ Under the rural conditions, social and religious attitudes and institutions present characteristic differences from those developed within the city. This distinction is remarkable in the sphere of activity and in the methods and actions. Life and conditions in the country were in sharp contrast to life in the city or at court. The old natural social and economic environment was radically modified, and, in fact, many aspects of it were entirely eliminated. To describe the differences is no simple task; to interpret them is harder still.

* The following abbreviations have been used in this paper: AO = *Der alte Orient*; AHDO = *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*; BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JJP = *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*; JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*; JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review*; LH = *Laws of Hammu-rabi*; PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; RB = *Revue biblique*; VB = *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*; VT = *Vetus Testamentum*; ZATW = *Zeitschrift fuer alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*.

¹ References to the relationship between city and village in ancient Israel are made by Lurje, "Studien zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse im israelitischen-juedischen Reiche" (*Beihefte, ZATW*, 45 [1927]), and by Menes, "Die vorexilischen Gesetze Israels" (*Beihefte, ZATW*, 40 [1928]). See also Alt, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria (*Berichte ueber die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 101,5 (1954); Caspari, *Die Gottesgemeinde von Sinaj und das nachmalige Volk Israel* (1922), 42; Gordis, "Sectional Rivalry in the Kingdom of Judah" (*JQR*, XXV [1934-1935]), 237 sq. It may be added that Weber's theory ("Das Antike Judentum" [*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, III (1921)]) are now further developed by Causee, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse: le problème sociologique de la religion d'Israel* (1937). For later development see Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, I (1938), 24 sqq.

TRIBAL CONDITIONS

The social and economic life of the old Hebrew tribal organization² rested mainly upon collective or solidary liability.³ Joined religious cults⁴ were also a very strong unifying factor. Religion gave here expression to the ties binding the population. The mode of living, even when times were good, was simple and frugal. These communities did not constitute a uniform political body, and they were not free from a spirit of competition, rivalry and intertribal warfare; yet they joined in common cult feasts. Each tribe was a separate unit, with its own history, and produced a separate tribal consciousness which was greatly undermined in the days of the monarchy when national feelings became the predominant ones. The late Assemblies of the People⁵ must have had a long history, since they are bound to have had their origin in widely known intertribal gatherings for ceremonial purposes. Mutual aid was one of the fundamental factors in the tribal framework which comprised a compact unity of blood ties.⁶ The laws and customs presupposed that every man was owner of his own property, which was divided from that of his neighbour.⁷

There are, however, strong indications that the practice existed of periodically cutting up common lands and allotting the portions to those families who were capable of farming them.^{7a} The growing

² Cf. van der Ploeg, "Sociale Groepeerings in het oude Israel" (*Jaarbericht* 8, *Ex Oriente Lux* [1942]), 642-650; Wolf, "Some Remarks on the Tribes and Clans in Israel" (*JQR*, XXXVI [1946]), 287-295 and by the same author, "Terminology of Israel's Tribal Organization" (*JBL*, LXV [1946]), 45-49.

³ Cf. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws" (*HUCA*, XXVI [1955]). See also Alfrink, "Die Achan-Erzählung" (*Jos.* 7), (*Miscellanea A. Miller* [1951]), 114-129.

⁴ Cf. Alt, "Der Gott der Väter" in *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, II, 12 [1929], now reprinted with additional notes by the same author in his *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1953), 1 sq.

⁵ Cf. Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, III (1921), 98; Alt, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina* (1930), II, and particularly see Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (1930). (As to Buber's interpretation see Pederesen, *Israel its Life and Culture*, III-IV [1947], 677, n. 85).

⁶ Cf. Neufeld, *op. cit.*: Gallings, *Die israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt*, XXXVIII, 3-4 [1929], 9; Kuschke, "Arm und Reich im Alten Testament" (*ZATW*, 57 [1939], 33).

⁷ Cf. Peters, *Die soziale Fuersorge im Alten Testament* (1936), 34; Kurt Salomon, *Die Lösung des sozialen Problems: die Bibel* (1931), 45. As to the psychological conditions which presuppose individual property, see Kelsen, *Society and Nature* (1946), 285, 286.

^{7a} Cf. Neufeld, "Socio-Economic Background of Yōbēl and Semiṭṭā" (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. 33 [1958]).

evidence from Ugarit shows that such a system of tenure existed among the Canaanites from whom Hebrews must have taken it over.⁸ It was, however, already in the process of disappearing even in the economic organization reflected in the book of the Covenant. When the community and its agricultural economy became more settled in its territory, there was less surplus land, and fields then became more permanent. Accordingly, a householder began to hold a permanent and fixed area, and obtained a customary and heritable right to hold it. The available material shows indisputably that separate, permanent, heritable fields were widely rooted in the socio-economic tribal organization already illustrated in the Book of the Covenant. The new basis of the accepted economic organization was the maintenance of private property, which was bound to remain within the family.

Land and household goods were considered inalienable.⁹ The sole rule of conduct was custom. The old family and tribal customs which involved obligations, duties and practices, constituted a powerful law system. What had always been done was lawful and, therefore, ought to be done; and what had never been done was unlawful and ought, therefore, not to be done.¹⁰ There is no doubt that unwritten laws were always more spontaneously and more naturally observed than those which were reduced to writing.¹¹

CHIEFTAINS: STATUS AND FUNCTION

The small, largely self-contained tribal communities were ruled by tribal heads or chieftains whose actual titles cannot easily be distinguished.¹² The main functions of the chieftains consisted of the defense

⁸ As to the political and territorial background of Palestine at that period see Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1953), 89 sq.

⁹ See note 7a.

¹⁰ Cf. Gen. 20.9; 29.6; 34.7; II Sam. 13.12. It is well known that even where social organization made great progress, customs remained the sole rule of conduct. Hegel (*Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* [1902], Par. 211) rightly remarks that "the valid laws of a nation, when written and collected, do not cease to be customs."

¹¹ Cf. Hartland, *Primitive Law* (1924), 138; Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1926), 10, 15 sqq.; Lourie, *Primitive Society* (1920), 387.

¹² Cf. van der Ploeg, "Les Chefs du Peuple d'Israel et Leurs Titres" (*RB*, LVII [1950]), 42-61 and by the same author "Les Soterim d'Israel" (*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, X [1954]), 185 sqq. As to Sir Henry Maine's theory that primitive chieftainship has developed out of *patria potestas*, see Numelini, *The Beginnings of Diplomacy* (1950), 30-31.

of the land and the exercise of a conciliating influence in tribal and family disputes. They contributed greatly to the survival of the community and to its existing institutions.¹³ Orlinsky,¹⁴ referring to their functions, says that "they were primarily local military heroes and dominated Israel during the period of pacification and adjustment."

The chieftains were neither elected nor necessarily from the most distinguished or influential tribal families. They were gifted, self-made men who rose to historic occasions by the force of their character; persons of extraordinary valor and fortitude, of great military enterprise, who became leaders in their own right. Thus Gideon, in addition to being called גִּדְדוֹן חַיִּל, is often characterized as מוֹשִׁיעַ,¹⁵ "savior." He complained of being poor¹⁶ but was the deliverer of Israel from the Midianites.¹⁷ Jephthah was the son of a harlot and, in his youth, a leader of a band of outlaws; but he became a great warrior and led his tribe in war against the Ammonites. Deborah successfully initiated a war and brought it to a victorious conclusion; Barak was summoned by Deborah to be her ally in the struggle against the Canaanites. Although different in character, all represent the true type of the ancient Hebrew chieftain.

The chieftains were the natural product of the internal social standards and requirements of early Israel. Their authority did not necessarily involve the power to make laws. In most cases, it appears to have been very vague and depended largely on their individual personal qualities. Their status was not based on hereditary rights¹⁸ and their prestige did not require personal splendor, palaces or luxurious court life. They sprang from the ordinary folk and led a humble life. Their relationship to their people was, therefore, much more intimate than that of a king. They lacked great political ambition, but they safeguarded the religious and social traditions of the people. These traditions were based on a mixture of primitive democ-

¹³ On this question in general see Holsti, "Sociological Theory of Sovereignty" (*Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*), VI [Berkeley, 1930], 119 and by the same author, *The Relation of War to the Origin of the State* (1913), 273 sqq.

¹⁴ Cf. Orlinsky, *Ancient Israel* (1954), 58.

¹⁵ Cf. Judg. 6.14; 8.22. Similarly Ehud (Judg. 3.15) who delivered his people from Eglon, King of Moab. Cf. Köhler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1953), 247, n. 161.

¹⁶ Cf. Judg. 6.15.

¹⁷ Cf. Malamat, "The War of Gideon and Midian, A Military Approach" (*PEQ*, Jan.-April [1953]), 61 sqq.

¹⁸ See on this question Numelin, *The Beginning of Diplomacy* (1950), 45 sq.

racy and patriarchal aristocracy.¹⁹ Pedersen²⁰ rightly says that "to be a chief does not imply to be able to force something upon the community, to keep it down. It is not necessary for the chief always to go about and keep his people under control. His position depends on the acknowledgment of something underlying his actions, an actual greatness. Therefore, the outward victory is not everything to him; the all-important thing is that the victory should manifest the fact that he is the greatest."

CHARACTER OF RURAL LIFE

The small villages, or small agricultural country communities continued to exist under the rule of the monarchy as independent units. They maintained the old system of property, the right of family and the system of kinship. Here, there was neither the opportunity of cultivating an attitude of broad-mindedness nor the temptation to become a superficial seeker of new things. The rough and exhausting shepherd's calling was one of the main occupations of men; the possession of pasture-ground, cattle, sheep and goats was the standard of wealth. Next to cattle-breeding, the chief occupation was agriculture which carried high prestige. A wealthy man like Boaz²¹ and a rich farmer of Shumen²² are found in the field among the reapers. Even Saul, already a King, is seen returning from his day at the plough²³ and Elisha works with his father's oxen.²⁴ Viticulture was of considerable importance and the popular wish was that "every man dwell safely under his vine and under his fig tree."²⁵ People usually lived in small clay houses, later in wood houses. Life was simple and natural. Here social homogeneity remained an active factor and economic stratification was much less than that in the town. While rural environments differ considerably one from another, each one exerts a far greater measure of common influence on its inhabitants than does

¹⁹ Cf. Wolf, "Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel" (*JNES*, VI, 2, [Apr. 1947]), 98 *sqq.*; Orlinsky, *Ancient Israel* (1954), 61; Ramsey, "Elements of a Biblical Political Theory" (*The Journal of Religion*, XXIX, 4 [1949]), 258 *sqq.* On the question of "democracy" among peoples of relatively different stages of civilization see Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of Social Classes* (1938), chapter VII.

²⁰ Cf. Pedersen, *Israel, its Life and Culture*, I-II (1926), 221.

²¹ Cf. Ruth 2.4.

²² II Kings 4.8.

²³ I Sam. 9.5.

²⁴ I Kings 19.19.

²⁵ I Kings 5.5; Micah 4.4.

the city. The traditional concept of kinship bound men more closely together than that co-operation made necessary by the division of labor in the city. The countryman clung with tenacity to the old tribal property organization and its religious customs. Unless under grave oppression, the countryman has a strong sense of the rights of property, with a consequent belief in fixity of the social order. His attachment to his way of life is more deeply fixed and so are his ways and his thoughts.

The countryman continued the traditions of old Israel in contrast to the Canaanization of the city. Custom was here the final rule, and the countryman has, generally, nothing but contempt for high fashion. His ways were fixed and his vicissitudes were mainly those which came in the natural sequence of the seasons and in the inexorable course of human destiny. The forces of nature which we must utilize were often beyond his control, and, in their presence, the countryman grew imbued with religion and superstition. He was the natural supporter of the Prophets in their denunciation of the new social evils, of the process of industrialization and the cultural fashion of assimilating. This, of course, resulted in different attitudes to life, which can easily be traced. The mass of the countrymen and village farmers interpreted laws and traditions differently from the men in the newly developed towns.

OLD CITIES

The organization of the cities had a long tradition. The Syrian-Palestine city system and the pre-Israelite sea-cities of the Phoenicians and of the Philistines actually represented a developed stage of urbanism.²⁶ As far, however, as Israel was concerned, we are familiar with names of old cities such as Succoth, Shechem, Penuel, Ophrah, Nob, Ziph, Keilah and many, many others, long before the monarchy became an established factor. There is ample evidence to show that those cities often held different political views and, accordingly, acted independently. Thus, we know that Gideon, after his victory over the Midianites, returned triumphantly, and, on his way back, punished two cities, Succoth and Penuel, because both of them independently refused to grant him assistance in his military expedition and treated him with mockery.²⁷ The old city of Shechem, after three years of

²⁶ Cf. Alt, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina* (1930), pp. 31-36; Noth, *Die Welt des alten Testaments* (1940), 182 sq.

²⁷ Cf. Judg. 8.4-21.

reign by Abimelech, rose against him; but he soon retook it.²⁸ David, when fleeing from Saul, found refuge in the desert village of Ziph²⁹ and also in Nob "the city of Priests."³⁰ On the other hand, however, the attitude of the citizens of Keilah was unfriendly to David and, therefore, he was afraid to remain there.³¹ Thus, we see that some cities quite independently took sides in the war between David and Saul. As often occurs, conflict may arise between one city and another. The principal features of these inter-city conflicts differ greatly. Sometimes there were real ills on both sides and these ills were greatly exaggerated in the minds of those in each conflicting city. Prior to the monarchy, however, these towns were essentially part and parcel of the tribal relationship prevailing there.³² It may also be mentioned that many laws of Deuteronomy relating to city life were only a reflection of the days when the tribal system was the basis of the city society.

TRANSFORMATION UNDER MONARCHY

This old social and economic system of the tribal organization became radically changed by the policy of the monarchy,³³ which, however, was not of divine nature.³⁴ The monarchy, owing to its nature and to its effects, was the most radical revolution in ancient Israel. It aimed to give Israel an international status; to assimilate its governmental system, its economy and its cultural orientation to those of the contemporary neighbors. It endeavored to industrialize the country and to develop the city at the expense of the village. It attempted almost to obliterate the old tribal organization and its traditions, and to substitute national consciousness for tribal consciousness. The old rural economy had to come to an end, and superficial conditions were created to introduce an urban economy.

With the growth of the power of the Hebrew monarchy, the old

²⁸ As to Judg. 9.45 see now Honeyman, "The Salting of Shechem" (*VT*, April, 1953), 192-195.

²⁹ Cf. I Sam. 23.14, 15, 24; 26.2.

³⁰ Cf. I Sam. 22.19; 21.1.

³¹ Cf. I Sam. 23.1-3.

³² See for instance I Sam. 22.19.

³³ Cf. Hempel, "Politische Absicht und Politische Wirkung im biblischem Schrifttum," *AO*, XXXVIII [1938], 12; Kuschke, "Arm und Reich im Alten Testament" (*ZATW*, 57 [1939]), 37. Galling, "Die israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt" (*AO*, XXVIII, 3-4 [1929]), 10 sq.; Eberharder, *Die soziale und politische Wirksamkeit des alttestamentlichen Prophetentums* (1924), 17 sqq.

³⁴ Cf. Mendelsohn, "Authority and Law in Canaan-Israel" (*JAOS Supplement* [1954]), 27. For a different opinion see de Fraine, "L'Aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite" (*Analecta Biblica*, 3, [1954]).

ideals of kinship developed into one of political and national affinity; the tribal organization became transformed into a growing and partly united nation with political ambitions on an international scale.³⁵ Thus, agreements were reached with Hiram I of Tyre,³⁶ and later with Egypt. Israel became a factor in international trade for which a fleet was built.³⁷ The Tarshish ships of King Solomon sailed to Arabia and along the Indian Ocean. A number of fortresses were constructed in order to secure trade routes,³⁸ and even copper was mined.³⁹ Ezion-geber, as rightly pointed out by Prof. Glueck, "besides being a port, was a center in King Solomon's time of metallurgical industry, as well as of shipyards, factories, kilns, storehouses and commercial exchanges." Buildings of hewn stones were erected on a large scale, and this, in turn, led to the construction of many elaborate castles. Arrangements were made to supply water to the cities which enjoyed particular royal support. Land surveyors or some type of boundary inspectors were obviously known in Israel at that time, although the proper Biblical Hebrew term for a land surveyor is not yet known.⁴⁰

POWER POLITICS, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

The monarchs relied greatly on foreign warriors.⁴¹ The newly introduced standing army, bureaucratic supervision and regimentation had a long tradition among the economically more advanced neigh-

³⁵ Cf. Orlinsky, *Ancient Israel* (1954), 72 sqq.

³⁶ On some of the implications of the political relations between Israel and Tyre, see Liver, "The Chronology of Tyre at the Beginning of the First Millennium B. C." (*Israel Exploration Journal*, 4,2 [1953]), 113 sq.

³⁷ Cf. I Kings 9.26 sq.; 22.49; see Robinson, *A History of Israel*, I (1934), 256 sq.; Hornell, "Naval Activities in the Days of Solomon and Rameses III" (*Antiquity*, XXI [1947]), 66-73.

³⁸ For references see Pedersen, *Israel, its Life and Culture*, III-IV (1947), 64, n. 2.

³⁹ Cf. Nelson Glueck, *The River Jordan* (1946), 146.

⁴⁰ The late Hebrew term, known in the Mišnā, is מְשׁוּחַ (pl. מְשׁוּחוֹת) to which references are found in the Mišnā (Kelim 14,3; 'Erubin 14,11) and in the Talmud (see Bābā Meš'ā 107b); the "surveyor's pegs" are called in the Mišnā דְּמִשְׁחוֹת (Kelim 14,3). The Mišnaic word מְשׁוּחַ remains in close connection with Biblical Hebrew מָשַׁח = "to pull," "to draw," "to stretch out" (Gen. 37.28; Judg. 4.7; Deut. 21.3; Isa. 5.8; 66.19) meaning metaphorically "to measure." The Akkadian word for "land surveyor" is *abu ašlim*, literally "the father of the measuring rope"; the verb is *maḏāhu*, as well as *mašāhu*, related of course to the Mišnaic מְשׁוּחַ. Professor Oppenheim kindly informs me that the professional land surveyor was never called *masihu* or *mašihanu*, but only *abu ašlim* and rarely *mādidu*. For much later times in Greco-Roman Egypt, see Kupiszewski, "Surveyorship in the Law of Greco-Roman Egypt," (*JJP*, VI [1952]), 257-268.

⁴¹ E. g., II Sam. 10.7; 8.18; 20.7; I Kings 1.38, 44; II Sam. 15.18; 6.10; 15.19, etc.

boring nations, but were entirely strange to the Israelites. The monarchs did not live on their ancestral land, but in palaces built in princely style by foreigners; they owned great possessions;⁴² and it is clearly evident that the state administration was greatly enlarged;⁴³ a new fiscal system was introduced;⁴⁴ a court life of oriental splendor was developed⁴⁵ and special royal officials of high rank were appointed.⁴⁶ At the same time, the supporters of the old popular traditions were expelled from office. Thus, a new royal administration came into being which soon developed into an aristocracy.⁴⁷ It is certain that parallel with the new royal administration, the old clan or local tribal councils survived even up to the time of the downfall of the kingdom of Judah. Its character had changed greatly; either it had been subordinated or it remained in a constant state of tug-of-war with the King.

The process of cultural assimilation reached its climax in the Temple in Jerusalem.⁴⁸ Its cult was not a continuation of the old Hebrew ritual.⁴⁹ The altar in the Temple was built of bronze,⁵⁰ and, during the reign of Solomon and for long afterwards, the Temple

⁴² Cf. I Kings 9.28; 10.14 sq.; II Chron. 26.10; 32.28 sq.; see also Wright, "Archaeological Observations on the Period of the Judges and the Early Monarchy" (*JBL*, LX [1941]), 27 sqq.

⁴³ Cf. II Sam. 8.16-18, 20.23-26; I Kings 4.7-19 (as to this text see Alt, "Israels Gaue unter Salomo" in *Alttestamentliche Studien, Rudolf Kittel zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht* [1913]), 1-13, reprinted with added notes by the same author in his *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II (1953), 76 sqq.

⁴⁴ Cf. I Kings 4.7 sq.; see also Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (1925), 17-54; Jack, *Samaria in Ahab's Time* (1929), Chapter V. See on this point Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, I (1952), 326, n. 17.

⁴⁵ Cf. II Sam. 19.36; 5.13-16; 15.16.

⁴⁶ Cf. I Kings 4.6; II Kings 22.14; see also Isa. 22.20-23.

⁴⁷ Thus, e. g., in the pre-monarchical time there were prominent persons (Job 29.9) within the tribal society, chiefs, tribal heads, etc. The אנשי סכּוּחַ, שרי סכּוּחַ and the וְקִנֵּי הָעִיר are used in a not restricted fashion to a particular person (see Judg. 8.5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 16); under the monarchy, however, the *sārīm*, not only retained their judicial status (I Kings 21.8; II Kings 10.1; 23.1; I Kings 22.26; II Kings 23.8) but grew into a proper aristocracy which is often mentioned jointly with the King (Jer. 4.9; 49.38; Hos. 3.4; 13.10; Amos 1.15) and is kept apart from the ordinary folk (Jer. 26.11, 12, 16; 34.10); see on this question the remarks by Mendelsohn, "Authority and Law in Canaan-Israel," (*JAOS* Supplement, 17 [1954]), 29-30. The aristocracy became now only responsible to the King, occupying also high-ranking military offices (I Sam. 14.50; II Sam. 2.8; I Kings 1.19; 2.32, etc.) although not exclusively so (Job 29.9).

⁴⁸ Cf. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1946), 225.

⁴⁹ Cf. Walter, *Die Propheten in ihrem sozialen Beruf und das Wirtschaftsleben ihrer Zeit* (1900), 77 sq.; cf. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions against Loans and Interest" (*HUCA*, XXVI [1955]).

⁵⁰ Cf. I Kings 8.64; II Kings 6.14.

was largely equipped with West Asiatic cult objects, images and ornaments which were foreign to the old Hebrew tradition.⁵¹ It was a luxuriously elaborate palace which had to serve the purpose of enhancing the prestige of the kingdom and of its Kings.⁵² It was largely an expression of ambition for political power. The very splendor of the Temple must have been an embarrassment rather than a feeling of joy to those who cherished the old tradition of simplicity in the worship of JHWH. Alien religious rites and ceremonies were practiced in the Temple and foreign priests were used.⁵³ Cult objects as well as the external designs of the Temple reveal Phoenician-Canaanite influence.⁵⁴ In the country, religion interposed to give expression to the ties binding the population; but now the things that promoted the ties were defied, and new divinities were introduced to promote the new needs. In line with this policy, Hebrew monarchs contracted marriage unions with foreign princesses. These marriages had a great effect upon the religious life of the country.⁵⁵

In spite of the fact that the monarchy was limited in its scope,⁵⁶ it grew into a very powerful institution, remaining, however, in sharp conflict with the traditions of the old tribal organization. The new pattern of life was not introduced by Saul, the man of war, who scarcely departed at all from the old orientation of Gideon and Jephthah and who was unable to consolidate his authority in Israel. The change began, however, with the reign of David; although even he, to a large extent, still combined the power of a great and mighty

⁵¹ Cf. Pedersen, *Israel, its Life and Culture*, II-III (1947), 242 sq.; 251 sq.; Burrows, *What Mean These Stones?* (1941), 203.

⁵² Cf. Köhler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1953), 60.

⁵³ Cf. Ezek. 44.7 sq.; Pedersen, *ibid.*, 474. See also Galling, "Der Gott Karmel und die Ächtung der fremden Götter" (*Geschichte v. A. T. Festschrift A. Alt* [1953]), 105-125.

⁵⁴ Cf. Möhlenbring, *Der Tempel Solomos* (1932); Wright, "Solomon's Temple Resurrected" in *Biblical Archaeologist*, IV (1941), 17 sq.; Garber, "Reconstructing Solomon's Temple" (*ibid.*, XIV [1951]), 1 sqq.; Scott, "The Pillars Jachin and Boaz" (*JBL* [1939]), LVIII, 143 sq.; Myres, "King Solomon's Temples and Other Buildings and Works of Art" (*PEQ* [1948], 14 sq., בשולי בעיות לבנין מקדש שלמה (קרם) II, 1945).

⁵⁵ Cf. Noth, "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition" (*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, VIII [1950], 28 sqq. ייבין. ראשיהו של בית דוד 2-3, ix [1944] טבה-ניסן 49 sq.

⁵⁶ Cf. Silving, "State Contract in the Old Testament" (*Journal of Religion*, XXIV [1944]), 17-32; Burrows, "Democracy in the Hebrew-Christian Tradition Old and New Testaments," (*Science, Philosophy and Religion*, Second Symposium [1942]), 403 sqq.; see also Alt, "Das Königtum in dem Reich Israel und Juda," *VT*, I [1951], 2 sqq.

monarch with the old simplicity and sense of solidarity with the poor.⁵⁷

Although the monarchy made Israel an important political factor, created the necessary conditions for considerable economic progress, modernized its life, and widened its hitherto purely tribal outlook, yet it failed to integrate itself organically with the old conservative pattern of tribal life. The new policy, among others, did not produce a dominant economic group which could create a relative equilibrium within the economic stratification of the population. The policy of the monarchy was imposed in an artificial manner, and it corresponded neither to the social and economic realities of Israel nor to its old free tribal-democratic traditions. In fact, the rise of the monarchy was not a result of political evolution within the state but an outcome of an external pressure which urgently compelled a closer concentration of the national forces. The constant dissatisfaction of large sections of the people, and the wide-spread and deep-rooted anti-royalist feeling, especially in the rural areas, rings through the pages of the history of ancient Israel. When it declined it was looked upon as an evil⁵⁸ while the old period of tribal life appeared in retrospect to have almost been a golden age. G. Jacob's opinion that *das Königthum ist in Arabien eine fremde Pflanze*⁵⁹ is fully applicable to ancient Israel.

CIVILIZATION OF NEW URBAN LIFE

The newly developed cities under the rule of the monarchy differed entirely from the old towns. Their growth was partly a result of new control over resources greater than were necessary for the mere sustenance of life. As we shall see, these resources were mainly acquired by the power of man over man; the development of city life rested on the precarious foundations of slavery, exploitation, forced labor and extremely high taxation. It is true that considerable progress was made during that period in extending the power over nature and in

⁵⁷ See Ruhland, *System der politischen Ökonomie* (1941), 244-245 and Lurje, "Studien zur Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse im israelitischen-juedischen Reiche" (*Beihefte, ZATW*, 45 [1927]), 6-14. As to the importance and wide implications of David's economic and military policy, see Crook, "Some Cultural Principles in Hebrew Civilization" (*JBL*, L [1931]), 167; Walter, *Die Propheten in ihrem sozialen Beruf und das Wirtschaftsleben ihrer Zeit* (1900), 30 sqq.; Hoelscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und juedischen Religion* (1922), 93.

⁵⁸ Cf. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe als König," (*ZATW*, XLVI [1928]), 81-105. See, however, Hammershaimb, "Ezekiel's View of the Monarchy" (*Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen . . . Dicata* [1953]), 137.

⁵⁹ Cf. Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen* (1895), 164.

sundry improvements, in the products of agriculture and commerce, and in technical-economic conditions in general. These, however, remained in great disproportion to the benefit derived from slavery, etc.

The cities became now the centres of political and economic life. Commercial profit from domestic and overseas trade as well as rents for hiring land, were almost entirely concentrated among the wealthy business men and landlords who lived in the cities, mainly in Jerusalem. While this development brought about a higher standard of living for a limited group only, yet it has created more economic facilities and, therefore, it has attracted more immigrants from the country. The country and the city were not equally competing attractions. There is no doubt that migration was determined by the possibilities of making a living. The new city life produced new social, economic and religious problems; it gave ample opportunity to the driving forces of human nature. This, in fact, was most noticeable in the city of Jerusalem. The kings were closely connected with the new city life; David was already vigorously maintaining a policy mainly favoring Jerusalem, largely ignoring the interests of the peasantry.⁶⁰ Cities usually tend to grow at the expense of the country, and to a large measure, through migration from the country. In this process, the city comes to include a much larger proportion of country-bred residents than the country does of city-bred. Consequently, the city must adapt to its own changing conditions a large number who were habituated to a very different life.

It has, however, to be emphasized that, within the economy of the newly developed cities, land which meanwhile went up in price⁶¹ still remained the basis of economic security and wealth. In many aspects, however, the demarcation was not sharp, and, therefore, it is sometimes difficult to say where city ends and country begins. Scattered farmsteads passed imperceptibly into villages, villages into towns. It has to be remembered that in the city only a very small minority had their wealth exclusively in money or slaves. Economically, life in these cities was still closely related to the land,⁶² many of the townspeople worked their own fields; but some of them left the

⁶⁰ On the political and geographical position during his reign, see Alt "Das Grossreich Davids" (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 75 [1950]), 213 *sqq.*, reprinted now by the same author in his *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, II (1953), 66 *sqq.*

⁶¹ Cf. Buhl, *Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten* (1899), 96.

⁶² For a similar situation in Mesopotamia see Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (1951), 58.

work in the fields to paid employees,⁶³ spending their wealth in luxurious living. At the same time, however, many inhabitants, like those in Samaria, lived largely as artisans and handicraftsmen⁶⁴ and developed industries such as artistic ivory carving and pottery on a high level. Now trade developed in the cities. A field outside Jerusalem was called Fuller's Field,⁶⁵ and in Jerusalem there was a Baker's Street.⁶⁶ We know also of a "Valley of Metal Workers,"⁶⁷ of a center of wood industry in the cities of Lod and Ono,⁶⁸ and of a district of goldsmiths and merchants.⁶⁹ Thus, it is clear that within the city the economic diversities admit extreme variations of equipment and opportunity; in many ways, its structure was a growing home of conflicting interests.

Building operations on a large scale took place in these newly developed cities. This new activity was continued after Solomon as well, e. g., by Uzziah,⁷⁰ Jotham,⁷¹ Hezekiah⁷² and Manasseh.⁷³ In addition to Jerusalem, Hazor, Gezer, Magiddo⁷⁴ and other cities⁷⁵ were provided with new fortifications. Attempts were now made to solve the water shortage in the cities, and this was done in Jerusalem,⁷⁶ Gibeon,⁷⁷ Hebron,⁷⁸ Samaria⁷⁹ and Heshbon.⁸⁰ Elaborate houses of hewn stone and magnificent castles with luxurious ornaments were erected in the cities, especially in Jerusalem and in Samaria.⁸¹ They proclaimed the growing power and high prestige of the city. Houses of wealthy townsmen had carved wooden ornaments rep-

⁶³ See II Sam. 9.10.

⁶⁴ Cf. Mendelsohn, "Guilds in Ancient Palestine" in *BASOR*, 80 [1940], 17 sq.; see also Deut. 19.5; 27.5; II Kings 6.5; Jer. 17.1.

⁶⁵ II Kings 18.17; Isa. 7.3.

⁶⁶ Jer. 37.21.

⁶⁷ Cf. I Chron. 4.14 but see Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

⁶⁸ Cf. Neh. 11.35. (This most probably refers to the manufacture and repair of sacks, saddles, strappings, etc.)

⁶⁹ Cf. Neh. 3.32.

⁷⁰ Cf. II Chron. 26.9.

⁷¹ Cf. II Chron. 27.3.

⁷² Cf. II Chron. 32.5; Isa. 22.8-11.

⁷³ Cf. II Chron. 33.15.

⁷⁴ Cf. I Kings 9.15.

⁷⁵ Cf. II Chron. 11.5; I Kings 15.22.

⁷⁶ Cf. II Kings 20.20.

⁷⁷ Cf. II Sam. 2.13.

⁷⁸ Cf. II Sam. 4.12.

⁷⁹ Cf. I Kings 22.38.

⁸⁰ Cf. Cant. 7.4.

⁸¹ Cf. Parrot, "Samaria, Capitale du Royaume d'Israël" (*Cahiers d'archéologie biblique*, 7 [1955]).

representing human figures,⁸² there were winter houses and large summer houses made of ashlar and cedar or panelled with cedar wood, decorated with artistic panels made of ivory and painted with vermilion.⁸³ This growing love of luxury, pretentiousness and ostentatiousness was in striking contrast to the simple, unsophisticated and natural life traditional to old pre-monarchical Israel and still fully maintained in the villages.

THE EVOLUTION OF STRIKING ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES

A number of factors inherent in progressive civilization sharply increased the conflicting economic differentiation, producing many debtors, impoverished farmers, detribalized and unemployed people. Simultaneously, there was a growth of *nouveaux riches* in the newly arisen modernized cities: big landowners, moneylenders and a new so-called economic and social aristocracy. In primitive and simple societies the income earned is small, because no great wealth exists and the needs of those who are deprived of their earning capacity are usually provided for by the system of mutual aid.⁸⁴ Here, in the country, the economic class differentiation, the economic grading of men, many diversities and disparities of opportunity, extreme wealth and extreme poverty, and growing ambitions in every direction were unknown. Economic progress in civilization results, however, in the increase of fortunes and in greater differentiation of the social groups. This, in turn, produces unequal distribution of wealth and a sharp decrease in social solidarity.⁸⁵ With the growing accumulation of wealth by one section which leads to power and prerogatives based on fortune and, later, on birth goes the destitution of another much larger section.

In ancient Israel the following basic factors were mainly responsible for the growing economic tension and social cleavages. The geographical division of land ownership according to which the lowlands were inhabited by the wealthier groups of the population,⁸⁶ while the stony highlands and the plateaus were held by the mass of poor peasants most of whom had to seek employment during the winter months;⁸⁷ the transition from nomadic existence, to a sedentary

⁸² Cf. Isa. 44.13; Jer. 10.3.

⁸³ Isa. 9.10; Jer. 22.14; 36.22; Amos 3.15; 5.11.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Neufeld, "The Prohibitions against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws" (*HUCA*, XXVI [1955]).

⁸⁵ Cf. Landman, *The Origin of the Inequality of Social Classes* (1938), Chap. VII.

⁸⁶ As to the continuation of this division and its later influence, see Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, I (1938), 38-40.

⁸⁷ Cf. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1932), 131.

agricultural life, which, among others, produced, even in the days of Abimelech and Jephthah, a landless element; the growth of urbanization which undermined old ideas of kinship; and the transformation and, in particular, the expansion from a barter into a money economy which destroyed small landowners. The economic and social differentiation and cleavages were greatly speeded up by the domestic policy of the monarchy of centralizing life in cities. This changed the old system of the Hebrew organization causing detribalization, many hardships, unemployment and extreme poverty.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

This new development brought the moneylender in its wake. A money economy had been known earlier, but in a very restricted form. Even in the days of Solomon, taxes and other payments were made in kind.⁸⁸ Although there was a currency, it was hardly used for small transactions. Most payments, whether for goods bought, for rent, or for the services of an artisan, were in kind. The fact that Solomon had to cede twenty cities in Galilee to Hiram in order to obtain 120 talents of gold, indicates not only the great financial difficulties which occurred during his long and peaceful reign, but also the fact that there was still not sufficient money in circulation. Money became an important economic factor under Omri and Ahab whose economic reforms were based on the encouragement of foreign trade. It was during the middle of the ninth century that money increased greatly in quantity and became the accepted medium of exchange in public life, particularly in the towns.

While the expansion of a money economy and of trade opened new avenues of economic life, its immediate effects on the position of the small farmer were disastrous. Only a few landless peasants could be absorbed by the new developments. Most of them became hired agricultural laborers on larger estates. The small farmer could no longer borrow wheat or barley which he could return in better years. He had to borrow money which he could not repay, and, therefore, sooner or later he fell into debt-bondage. The new money economy eliminated previous social and ethical motives which governed the economic life within the old tribal organization. Thus, the actual transaction now acquired a much stricter commercial character. The relation between the peasant debtor and the urban creditor

⁸⁸ Cf. Menes, "Die vorexilischen Gesetze Israels" in *Beihefte, ZATW*, L (1928), 25, but see Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, I (1952), 318, n. 41.

now differed greatly from that of the days when cattle, grain and small articles were bartered.

The right of the creditor to seize the person of the debtor or of his dependents was an obvious opportunity for great abuse. The numerous laws against such oppression indicate clearly that the relation between debtor and creditor was not a matter of moderate subjection confined to the rendering of personal service. The common proverb that "a borrower is a slave of the man who lends"⁸⁹ seems to be a true illustration of the relation which existed. The frequent and moving sympathy exhibited towards the debtors clearly indicates that the creditors subjected their debtors to maltreatment, and, by so doing, exercised pressure on their kinsfolk to redeem them.

The moneylender was severely condemned by society⁹⁰ and the increase of his wealth was regarded as the result of exploitation of the poor.⁹¹ He was the reverse of the righteous man⁹² and his dealings were regarded as an abomination.⁹³ In fact the moneylender, like the borrower, was characterized as a social type.⁹⁴ It is true that there was no express provision for the recovery of debts although in later times, in the Psalms,⁹⁵ non-repayment of debt was condemned.⁹⁶

The laws of the Bible, as well as of the L H,⁹⁷ are marked by a conspicuous humanity towards the debtor.⁹⁸ The laws, few as they were, regarded the debtor as a victim of misfortune and a person who, because of his inferior economic position, was not to be treated oppressively. In fact, the distress which necessitated borrowing was regarded as a judgment of sin⁹⁹ and the taking of interest was con-

⁸⁹ Cf. Prov. 22.7.

⁹⁰ Cf. Jer. 15.10.

⁹¹ Cf. Ezek. 22.12; Prov. 28.8.

⁹² Cf. Ezek. 18.8, 17; Ps. 15.5.

⁹³ Cf. Ezek. 18.13.

⁹⁴ Cf. Isa. 24.2; Ps. 109.11.

⁹⁵ Ps. 37.21.

⁹⁶ See on this question Weil, "Gagé et Cautionnement dans la Bible" (*AHDO*, II [1938]), 171 *sqq.*

⁹⁷ §§ 48, 113, 117-119; see also Koschaker, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Buergschaftsrecht* (1911), 65 *sq.*, and note 22 (p. 66); Driver and Miles, "Code of Hammurabi," §§ 117-119 (*SD — Symbolae Koschaker*, II [1939]), 65-75; Meek, "A New Interpretation of the Code of Hammurabi, §§ 117-119" (*JNES*, VII, 3 [1948]), 180-183.

⁹⁸ As to the protection of the needy and the poor, see Caspari, "Das Alter des palästinischen Kolonisten" (*Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XLIX [1922], 56 *sqq.*). See also Guttmann, *ספר דינבורן*, שעבוד גופו של אדם בחובותיו בתורת ישראל (1949), 71).

⁹⁹ Cf. Deut. 15.16; 28.12, 44.

stantly condemned as an unjust profit, as an act of abomination, a gain obtained by violence.¹⁰⁰ It was as bad as bribery.¹⁰¹ The ideal attitude was to grant charitable loans to the poor without any interest.¹⁰² These were highly recommended and regarded as "gracious" acts.¹⁰³ There is no doubt that in ancient Israel, as among other peoples,¹⁰⁴ the creditors comprised a social class. Furthermore, the practice of lending money helped them greatly to keep the economically inferior mass of borrowers in a state of subordination.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Ezek. 18.8, 13, 17; 22.2. As to the phrase *השיב ידו*, see Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Zeit der I. Babylonischen Dynastie* (1907), 93; Koschaker, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Buergschaftsrecht* (1911), 29. On the question of loans at interest, see Neufeld, "The Prohibitions Against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws," *HUCA*, XXVI [1955].

¹⁰¹ Cf. Ezek. 22.12; Ps. 15.15. In later times loans at interest became almost a recognized part of Hebrew economic life (Matt. 18.25-35; 25.27; Luke 7.41 sq.). Josephus states that the bonds of the debtors were kept in public archives (*Bellum Judaicum*, II, XVII, 6). For further details, see Neufeld, *ibid.*

¹⁰² Cf. Ps. 15.5.

¹⁰³ Cf. Ps. 37.21, 26; 112.5; Prov. 19.17.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Daresté, *Études d'histoire du droit*, II (1902), 262 sq., 290, 306, 321; Jobbé-Duval, *Les morts malfaisants* (1924), 263. As to Twelve Tables, see Jörs-Kunkel-Wenger, *Römisches Recht* (1949), 219, n. 3, and Westrup, "Notes sur la sponsio et le nexum dans l'ancien droit Romain. Le nouveau fragments des Institutes de Gaius" (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Medd.* 31, No. 2 [1947]), 4 sq., 20 sqq.

¹⁰⁵ The special laws against the very numerous fugitive slaves (cf. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* [1949], 65, 66; Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws* [1951], 139, 140) of which the Deuteronomy provisions (23.15-16) remain in marked contrast to the Babylonian-Assyrian laws, as well as the special regulations protecting the masters against the frequent cases of disobedience by their slaves (Mendelsohn, *ibid.*, 66; Neufeld, *ibid.*, 185, 186), give an excellent picture of the intensity of discrimination which existed. The constant and passionate cry by the prophets for justice for the poor and for the underprivileged also gives an excellent insight into the situation. As far as the ancient Near East was concerned, the frequent Babylonian moratoria offer particularly good evidence in this direction. Of equal importance are the many references — with small divergencies — in the various fragmentary legal documents, all of a reformatory character, to "justice," "just laws," "giving justice to the people," "setting forth justice and truth in the land," "turning back enmity," "bringing well-being," "causing righteousness and truth to exist," and "destroying the wicked and the evil that the strong may not oppress the weak" by Uru-kagina of Lagaš, Sargon of Akkad, Urnammu, King of Ur, (see now Kramer and Falkenstein, *Orientalia*, I [1954], 40 sq., and Klima, *AO*, XXI [1953], 442 sq.) "Lipit-Istar of Isin, Sin-inddinam, King of Isin and Hammurabi." The fact that Sin-Gašid, King of Uruk, fixed the first known tariff of maximum prices for the common commodities of daily life and that Bilalama (*LB*, §§ 1-11), King of Ešnunna took a similar step, constitutes an obvious manifestation of the nature of the economic relation between rich and poor.

TOWN-COUNTRY ENMITY

The period of transition from country life to city life is marked by the growth of sharp economic differentiation and by a violent deterioration of previously well-established social standards. This applied equally to Israel and to Judah. Thus, sex immorality now became a real plague in the city,¹⁰⁶ gay and licentious living,¹⁰⁷ ruthless and unscrupulous methods of obtaining money, and rampant illegality and injustices were expressive of the new city life. The process of Canaanization in the urban areas now became dynamic and aggressive, a result of an active and distinct policy. It was produced by the new "industrial revolution" with all its implications. It is true that the rural population also absorbed Canaanite ideals, but that was an outcome of a passive, inevitable assimilation.¹⁰⁸ The new city became the main center for the activities of the monarchy and the wealthy population its main supporters; in the process of interaction, in the attitudes and the modes of life, the city tended to become prepotent over the country. It had prestige of power, wealth, market places to which the countryman had to come to buy and to sell, to lend and to borrow; and, therefore, in the intercourse of city and country the former tended to dominate. The country, on the other hand, with its peasantry, was diametrically opposed and sharply antagonistic to the new city civilization. The city and the country remained in relative isolation. Both of them remained the possession of different men. The country remained faithful to Jahwism¹⁰⁹ and to the old socio-economic order which it represented, showing openly its hostility to city life and its new civilization.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Isa. 3.16, 18 sq.; 23.16 (See the excellent remarks made by Epstein in his *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* [1948]), 6 sqq.

¹⁰⁷ Isa. 5.11, 22; 22.13; 28.1, 3, 7; Amos 4.1; 6.4-6; 8.3.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Yeivin, "Social, Religious and Cultural Trends in Jerusalem under the Davidic Dynasty" (*VT*, III, 2 [1953]), 166; Pedersen (*Israel, its Life and Culture*, I-II [1926], 25) rightly notices that "the ardent spokesmen of the old habits were imperceptibly imbued with Canaanite ideals; this holds good of the prophets and other representatives of the reaction against Canaanization. To this category belong the admonitions of the Deuteronomy, containing violent demands that all Canaanites should be exterminated. The authors of these claims did not know that the laws connected with their admonitions were really all purely Canaanite."

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Erbt, *Die Hebräer Kanaans im Zeitalter der Hebräischen Wanderung und hebräischer Staatengründungen* (1906), 116; Walter, *Die Propheten in ihrem sozialen Beruf und das Wirtschaftsleben ihrer Zeit* (1900), 69; Koeberle, *Soziale Probleme im alten Israel und in der Gegenwart* (1907), 26; Herner, "Athalia, ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Alter des Jahvisten und des Elohisten" (*Beihefte zur Karl Marti Festschrift; Beihefte ZATW*, XLI [1925]), 137 sq.

The transformation caused by this policy brought about radical changes which were, however, mostly felt in regard to old established social and economic forms of life. Trade and commerce grew in importance¹¹⁰ and the old ideal of tilling the soil which in the olden days carried high prestige¹¹¹ was now confined mainly to the poor masses. The old system of property in land almost broke down. Land lost its earlier significance and became, for the most part, a form of capital. Labor itself has now become free contractual goods; in other words, it was now bought and sold on economic terms agreed upon between both parties. Labor now became transformed from a condition of status to one of contract. Group solidarity, which also fully covered property relations, became greatly undermined. The old existing ties of kinship were in process of losing much of their compelling and restraining power. Prof. E. Adamson Hoebel¹¹² rightly observes: "... for urbanization dissolves the strength of the kinship tie. It concomitantly steps up the need for centralized legal control by throwing together multitudes of persons whose local or tribal backgrounds are different and whose customs and their underlying postulates are frequently in conflict at many points. City life proliferates law." The royal policy tended to obliterate the old tribal organization with the result that it frequently encroached upon the rights of the ordinary citizen. The vigorous anti-monarchistic and satirical picture drawn by Samuel¹¹³ gives a true reflection of the effects of the royal policy. From this document, we learn that royal encroachments upon the ancient individualism were most strenuously resisted.

Whilst the concepts of tribal kinship and of old property in land remained strong factors among the peasant masses of the population, they were strongly opposed by the new regime. The idea of family property in land slowly gave way to the concept that the land was the King's and, parallel with this, went the tendency for property to be vested with the nobles.¹¹⁴ Property gradually became con-

¹¹⁰ Cf. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions Against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws," (*HUCA* [1925]).

¹¹¹ Cf. Peters, "Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus" (*Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, XXV [1913]), 68.

¹¹² Cf. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man* (1954), 329.

¹¹³ Cf. I Sam. 8.14 (on Samuel's "liberalism" see Martin Buber, "Samuel und die Lade," published in the *Essays presented to Leo Baeck on the occasion of his eightieth birthday* [1954], 20 sqq.).

¹¹⁴ Cf. I Sam. 22.7; II Chron. 26.10, 32.28 sq.; II Sam. 24.24; I Kings 16.24; cf. Noth, "Das Krongut der israelitischen Könige und seine Verwaltungen" (*ZDPV* [1927]), 214.

centrated in the hands of a few wealthy owners, while more of the work was done by dependents. In view of the fact that the temples in ancient Israel were also engaged in money-lending transactions,¹¹⁵ it is likely that they were also landowners of considerable importance. Henry¹¹⁶ rightly says: "a movement of dispossession, of slow impoverishment of former free landowners started on the one hand, together on the other hand with the rise of a new rich landowning class created by the King's grace and favour and built up on the fief system."

UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND CORRUPTION

This transformation gave ample opportunity to the Crown and its newly arisen nobility for open abuse. Thus, we find a growing practice by the monarchs of seizing land held by their subjects and of granting it to the nobles and highly placed officials.¹¹⁷ In all activities which can be included in the category of *raison d'état*, the morality of violence was regarded as valid.

As time went on, it became more and more common for the ruling class to secure the small ancestral estates not only of the poor, but even of the orphans,¹¹⁸ adding these to their own domains. The ruling classes gradually persuaded themselves that, in the attainment as well as in the maintenance of economic power, all means were legitimate, even those that might be considered immoral in other contexts. Ahab's dispossession of Naboth from his vineyard is suggestive of the line of conduct that was sometimes pursued. Meribbaal's deprivation by David of his lawful inheritance¹¹⁹ shows that Naboth's behavior was not unique. The Shunammite woman's loss of her land might possibly be another case in point.¹²⁰ The general outcry against perverted judgments and favoritism¹²¹ is an indication of the prevalence of injustice. The Prophets' often-repeated denunciations of the land-grabbing practices and of the various injustices perpetrated by the royal families evoke a strange contrast to the Babylonian

¹¹⁵ Cf. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions Against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws" (*HUCA* [1955]) and Zech. 14.21.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Henry, "Land Tenure in the Old Testament" (*PEQ*, Jan.-April, [1954]), 6.

¹¹⁷ Cf. I Sam. 8.14; II Sam. 13.23; 14.30; I Kings 2.26; see also I Chron. 27.25-31.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Prov. 23.10.

¹¹⁹ Cf. II Sam. 16.4; 19.30.

¹²⁰ Cf. II Kings 8.1-6.

¹²¹ Cf. Ex. 22.3, 6-8; Deut. 16.19; 24.17; 27.19; Lev. 19.15.

regime, where Hammu-rabi did not hesitate to reverse the decisions of his governors.¹²²

The nobility was often accused of dishonesty and oppression¹²³ and of living in luxury while the masses were perishing.¹²⁴ The scathing words of the Prophets against the liberties taken with property by the royal chiefs;¹²⁵ Ezekiel's emphasis on the importance of fixed boundaries for the crownland around Jerusalem and his cry, that "my princes shall no more oppress my people,"¹²⁶ reflect the grim conditions of the times. The small freeholders were gradually being absorbed by the growing landed aristocracy; the evil had become so serious by the time of Isaiah that he could utter a bitter cry against those that "join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room."¹²⁷

¹²² It may be mentioned that after the establishment of the monarchy, the King became the supreme judicial authority and he in person adjudicated (II Sam. 14.4-16; 15.2, 3-6; I Kings 3.9 *sqq.*; (the story recorded in I Kings 3.9 *sqq.* is not confined to Israel; Gressmann has collected twenty-two parallels) 7.7; Jer. 22.15-17; Isa. 16.5; see also II Sam. 8.15; Jer. 23.5; as to II Chron. 19.4-11 see Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," published in the *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* [1950], 61-82). It must, however, be made clear that the Royal Court was not similar to a Supreme Court to which appeals could be made against judgment passed in a lower court as, e. g., the case might have been among the Nuzians (cf. Liebesney, "The Administration of Justice in Nuzi" [JAOS, 63 (1943)], 131-132, 142-143). In Israel passing judgment was part and parcel of the King's duties. (See on this point Mendelsohn, "Authority and Law in Canaan-Israel" published in the *JAOS Supplement* 17 [1954], 26, 27, 33). Thus the fact that Jotham judged the people was a sign that he completely took over his father's place (II Kings 15.5); there is no doubt that each litigant, however humble, had the right to bring his case before the King and that the person of the King was usually accessible to the poorest of his subjects. As to the status of the Babylonian Kings in this matter, see Walther, "Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen" (*Leip. Semit. Stud.*, VI, 4-6 [1917]), 99-103; Lautner, "Die richterliche Entscheidung und die Streitbeendigung im altbabylonischen Prozessrechte" (*Leipzig Rechtsw. Stud.* 3 [1922]), 74-81; see also Ungnad, "Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie" (*VB*, VI [1914]), Nos. 66, 218; Schorr, "Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts" (*VB*, V [1913]), No. 292.

¹²³ Cf. Isa. 1.23; 3.12, 14 *sqq.*; 10.1 *sqq.*; Jer. 21.11 *sqq.*; see Fichtner, "Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-juedischen Ausprägung" (*Beihefte, ZATW*, 62 [1930]), 25 *sqq.*; Boström, *Proverbia Studien* (1935), 53 *sqq.*; Weinberger, *Die Wirtschaftsphilosophie des Alten Testaments* (1948), 64 *sqq.*

¹²⁴ Cf. Amos 6.1 *sqq.*; see also Micah 3.1-4, 9-11. Cf. Eberharder, *Die soziale und politische Wirksamkeit des alttestamentlichen Prophetentums* (1924), 24 *sqq.*

¹²⁵ Cf. Micah 2.1-2; Hos. 5.10; see Peters, *Die soziale Fuersorge im Alten Testament* (1936), 25 *sqq.*

¹²⁶ Cf. Ezek. 45.7, 8; see also 48.21 but see Hammershaimb, "Ezekiel's View of the Monarchy" (*Studia Orientalia . . . Ioanni Pedersen . . . Dicata* [1953]), 132 *sqq.*

¹²⁷ Cf. Isa. 5.8.

Whilst the new policy resulted on the one hand in the growth of commercial and mercantile practice and in the development of city life, on the other hand it was beneficial only to the few. The masses of the population had to cope with an extremely low standard of living and with great unemployment.¹²⁸ The number of landless and economically degraded must have embraced a large part of the population. Former landowners were reduced to the status of hired agricultural day laborers, although some of them were on an annual contract. A great number of them had to migrate to cities, and, in many cases, they had to work in slave labor camps. Extreme poverty and starvation sometimes culminated in cannibalism, parents even consuming the flesh of their own children.¹²⁹ These conditions obviously evolved from indebtedness for large loans which could not possibly be repaid; the giving and the seizure of pledges which could not be redeemed; and the personal enslavement of debtors and their children, which almost completely destroyed the integrity of family life.

HOSTILITY OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PROPHETS

This complex of life in the country and in the city acted on the mentality of the countryman and profoundly influenced his social responses. This new development aroused a violent and organized hostility on the part of the people, predominantly among the peasantry. The Prophets were their strongest allies. The Prophets justifiably regarded themselves as the representatives of Israel proper. Hosea, e. g., seems to have looked upon the humbler class as the true upholder of the old and valid Hebrew customs.¹³⁰ In many ways, the socio-religious orientation of the Prophets coincided with that of all who sharply rejected the new conception. There is a striking uniformity among almost all the Prophets in their demand for the restoration and revival of the simple life of pre-monarchical times, based on the old and proper conception of JHWH within its old socio-economic setting.¹³¹ Thus, they sharply rejected and violently condemned the

¹²⁸ A true picture of the condition is given by Lurie, "Studien zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse im israelitisch-juedischen Reiche" (*Beihfte, ZATW*, 45 [1927]), 49 sq. The present writer dissociates from Lurie's historical approach but admits that his description of the grim economic situation is accurate.

¹²⁹ For references in the Bible see Honeyman, "An Unnoticed Euphemism in Isaiah IX, 19-20" (*VT*, I, 3 [1951]), 221-223, and Wallenstein, "An Unnoticed Euphemism in Isaiah IX, 19-20" (*VT*, II, 2 [1952]), 179-180.

¹³⁰ Cf. Hos. 13.4-6; 8.14.

¹³¹ In addition to the bibliography quoted, see also Albright, *From the Stone*

trend of the new civilization with all its religious, economic and social evils. The Prophets did not oppose the ideal of kingship so sharply as they utterly rejected its effects; their attitude to the life of Israel was based rather on a desire to revive the old, true traditions and values rather than to introduce new ones. Pedersen¹³² rightly says that "the sharp line of distinction drawn in the population between true and untrue Israelites, was the work of the Prophets. In the monarchical period . . . their idea of the true Israel was so different from the prevailing state of affairs, that they could not fail to become an element of discord."

Age to Christianity (1946), 239, and Pedersen, *Israel, its Life and Culture*, III-IV (1947), 555.

¹³² Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, III-IV (1947), 147.

BEMERKUNGEN ZUM HEBRÄISCHEN WORTSCHATZ*

MEIR FRAENKEL, Jerusalem

T^emol Šilšom

DAS WORT 'Etmol, auch 'Itmol, und T^emol, bedeutet gestern, früher. Das Wort ist Zeitbegriff. Ebenso ist Šilšom, mit dem es in der Bibel oft gepaart vorkommt, ein Zeitbegriff. Die übliche Uebersetzung ist = vorgestern, doch ist der Begriff in der Bibel viel allgemeiner: ehemals, längst, vordem, vor längerer Zeit.

Das gemeinsame Vorkommen beider Zeitbegriffe in der Formel T^emol Šilšom (Ex. 5.8; I Sam. 4.7; Ru. 2.11) oder Kit^emol Šilšom (Gn. 31.2, 5; Ex. 6.7, 14; Jos. 4.18; I Sam. 14.21; 19.7; 21.6; II K. 13.5), ferner in der Formel: Mitt^emol Šilšom (Ex. 21.29-36; Dt. 4.42; 19.4.6; Jos. 3.4; 20.5; I Sam. 10.11), sowie in der Phrase: Gam-'Etmol Gam-Šilšom (II Sam. 3.17; 5.2; I Ch. 11.2; Ex. 4.10) legt nun die Vermutung nahe, dass wir es hier mit einem echten Hendiadys oder Hen Dia Dyoin zu tun haben. Siehe zu diesem Begriff und seiner Anwendung auf den hebräischen Wortschatz: E. Z. Melamed: Hendiadys in The Bible (Tarbiz, Vol. XVI, No. 4). M. verweist auch auf die Arbeiten von Müller, Schorr, Torczyner etc. auf diesem Gebiete. Hendiadys = Zwei, die eins sind, sind keineswegs blosse Wortpaare wie Dach und Fach oder Feuer und Schwert, sondern nur solche Wortpaare, von denen beide Glieder den gleichen Begriff ausdrücken, Wortpaare, die zu festen Formeln geworden sind wie: Gerim w^etošabhim — Hukkim umišpaṭim — Dallim we-bhjonim — etc. Während nun bei einer gewöhnlichen Tautologie, der Wiederholung eines Wortes durch ein gleichbedeutendes zweites Wort das verbindende W^e (bezw. und, and, et etc.) nicht fehlen darf, kann die Hen-Dia-Dyoin-Verbindung zweier Wortglieder auf diese Verbindung durch „w^e“ oder „und“ verzichten.

Jedoch sind solche Hen Dia Dyoin-Paarungen Kopulationen von Nomina. Hier im Falle von T^emol Šilšom läge nun die Anwendung vor auch auf Adverbien, auf adverbiale Zeitbegriffe. Wir müssten also zunächst einmal beweisen, dass die beiden Worte eine gleiche oder sehr ähnliche Bedeutung besitzen. Meiner Ansicht nach ist das der Fall: beide Worte bedeuten ja früher, längst, vergangen, ehemals — die präzise heutige Bedeutung: gestern und vorgestern,

ist die Folge einer Bedeutungsentwicklung, die, wie so oft, vom Allgemeinen ins Spezielle geht.

'Etmol ähnelt lautlich dem arab. 'Udmul=alt. Barth: Nominalbildung bringt dies Wort an verschiedenen Stellen, so S. 46, 208 etc. Nun kann der Begriff Alt sehr wohl den Begriff Vergangen, früher, ehe, beinhalten. Das lat. antiquus bed.=alt, ehemalg, einstig, uralt, altertümlich — das adverbium Antiquitus bed.= von alters her, seit alter Zeit. Der semantische Zusammenhang ist also gegeben. Hinzu kommt, dass auch dem kürzeren T^emol ohne Anlaut ein arabisches Wort ohne Anlaut entspricht: Samul ist auch=alt (Barth: Nominalbildung, 46). Wechsel zwischen t und s kommen vor: Tamokh=stützen=samokh=stützen — Hatom=verschliessen, versiegeln=Hasom=absperren, verschliessen. — arab. itma'ara=emporstarren, hebr. Samor=starren, Samar=borstig — arab. Sin=Zahn, hebr. Tannin=Drache=gezähntes Ungeheuer — arab. kaṭṭa=abschneiden, hebr. Koses=abreissen (Ez. 17.9). Siehe hierzu Levi Herzfeld: Einblicke in das Sprachliche der Semitischen Urzeit, S. 37-40 über den Wechsel der verschiedenen S-Laute.

Aus der aram. Form 'Etmalé für Etmol haben nun einzelne Forscher auf einen Stamm MLH schliessen wollen (Merx), König denkt an das arab. Málā Pi., — jedoch lässt das aram. 'Etmalé, das assyr. timali auch an das hebr. Malé=voll denken. Da nun die Begriffe jung und klein zusammengehören, so gehören gross und alt zusammen. So verweist auch das Etym. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, der Kluge-Goetze, bei ALT auf das lat. Altus = hoch. Auf Grund dieses Bedeutungszusammenhanges dürfen wir auch mutmassen: Voll als Begriff des Grossen und Starken schliesst auch den Begriff Erwachsen, Alt, mit ein. Die Form Mol in 'Etmol oder Mul in 'Udmul ist gleich dem idg. Voll — die Labiallaute wechseln hier wie so oft in der Sprache. Alt ist also hier nicht kraftlos, sondern bezeichnet einen Zustand (Körper, Zeit, Mensch etc.), der zugenommen hat, der voller, d. h. länger, grösser, breiter, geworden ist.

Das ist einleuchtend. 'Etmol als alt, alte Zeit, volle Zeit, das ist eine akzeptable Hypothese. Der Wechsel zwischen hebr. und aram. 'Alef und arab. 'Ajin ist auch keine Spracherscheinung, die uns in Erstaunen versetzt. So schreiben wir im Hebräischen Aaron 'Aharon mit 'Alef. Nach Ulmer: Die sem. Eigennamen, findet sich der Name in Südarabien mit 'Ajin. Das hebr. 'Afar = Staub und das hebr. 'Efer = Asche sind ein Wort, das zwei Formen annahm etc.

Wenn nun 'E t m o l = 'U d m u l ist, dann könnte auch Š i l - š o m, das zweite Glied des Wortpaares, ebenfalls alt bedeuten. Jedoch steht dieser Vermutung die Meinung entgegen, das Š i l š o m eine Kontraktion aus Š e l o š a J o m darstelle. Das assyr. i n a š a l š i ū m e wird hier zur Bekräftigung herangezogen (Ges-B., König).

Diese assyrischen Worte mögen nun = vor drei Tagen bedeuten. Jedoch ist damit die Identität dieser Worte mit Š i l š o m gesichert? Der Form nach ähnelt Š. der Bildung P i t ' o m = plötzlich, und da wir P e t a ' für plötzlich haben, so erklären wir uns das abschliessende . o m als adverbiale Endung. Siehe hierzu auch Barth: N o m i n a l - b i l d u n g, S. 351. Dort finden wir auch einen Hinweis auf eine Form von T e m o l mit T a n w i n - Endung: T e m a l e m o (Aethiop.). Auch H i n n a m, O m n a m — und vielleicht auch J o m a m — mit . a m sind ähnliche Bildungen. Würde nun Š i l - š o m nicht nur vorgestern bedeuten, sondern auch übermorgen, dann könnten wir überzeugt sein, dass im . o m das hebr. J o m, assyr. ū m u = Tag steckt. Wenn jedoch in P i t ' o m das . o m nur adverbiale Bedeutung besitzt, so vielleicht auch in Š i l š o m? Warum fehlt in der Sprache ein R i b h ' o m = vorgestern, wo wir doch Š i l l e š i m und R i b b e ' i m für Nachkommen verschiedener Grade kennen?

Hätten wir nun ein Wort * Š e l e š — analog zur Form P e t a ' — dann wäre das ein Beweis, dass die Endung . o m nicht Tag bedeutet. Nun ist der dritte Finger der längste — und das Zählen, die Benennung der Zahlen — ging vom Finger aus. So bedeutet H a m e š = fünf die Hand. Und Š a l o š mag sehr wohl die semitische S a t e m - form zum idg. A l t u s, A l t, darstellen. Jedoch gehen solche S a t e m - formen auf frühere Lautformen zurück, die wir mit dem Namen K e n t u m - formen zu bezeichnen pflegen. A l t u s, A l t, sind solche K e n t u m - formen, und oftmals entsprechen z. B. lat. Formen mit blosser Vokalanlaut hebr. Formen mit Laryngalanlaut oder K e n - t u m - anlaut. Etwa: a l b u s = weiss, hebr. Ḥ a l a b h = Milch, d. h. weiss. Oder die idg. Wortgruppe * a r c * a r g = weiss, hell, leuchtend — sichtbar in a r g e n t u m = Silber, a r g i l l a = weisser Ton etc. — hat eine sem. Entsprechung in Z a r o a ḥ = strahlen, M i z r a ḥ = Sonnenaufgang, T e r a ḥ = Name eines phöniz. Mondgottes, d. h. ursprünglich = Mond, im Aram. Š e r a g a ' = Licht, im arab. Š a r ḳ = Osten etc. D. h. das Semitische hat hier S a t e m - form. Es muss aber eine Zwischenform — K e n t u m - form — gegeben haben, in dem auch das Semitische statt des Z a j i n, T a w, Š i n etc. einen K-Laut zu Anfang des Wortes besass. In Ḥ a r o k h = rösten, braten (Pr. 12.27), syr. = brennen, sengen, haben wir diesen Licht- und Wärmebegriff in K e n t u m - gestalt.

Nach dieser unerlässlichen Abschweifung zurück zu Š a l o š, das ich = lang, gross, alt, hoch, zu erklären versuchte. Die Germanisten deuten Alt und ebenso a l t u s als zusammengesetzt aus a l - von * a l a n = aufwachsen und einem Suffix t. Jedoch ist das eine Hypothese, wie so vieles. Vielleicht jedoch ging a l t u s eine Form mit k-Laut voran: * a l k u s, und A l t u s erklärt sich als = lang, von einer Wurzel *l-g, die dann zu l-ğ wurde.

Dieser Begriff lang entwickelte sich dann zum Begriff alt, denn wer ein langes Leben lebt, der wird alt. Alt = langjährig. Vielleicht erklären sich die Schwierigkeiten, die die Kommentatoren zwischen K e l a ḥ = hohes Alter (Hiob 5:26) und zwischen K e l a ḥ = Reife (Hiob 30:2) fanden, durch die Annahme, dass in beiden Fällen hier der Stamm lang vorliegt in der allgemeinen Bedeutung = Alter? Das Arabische hat ein Adjektiv K i l h a m = alt (Barth: N o m i n a l - b i l d u n g, S. 351) von K e l a ḥ entwickelt — der Wechsel der beiden K's ist sekundäre Dialekterscheinung.

Meine These ist nun: dies K i l h a m geht auf *l-g = lang, alt, zurück. Der Anlaut K und der Auslaut . a m hüllen diesen Kurzstamm von beiden Seiten ein und erschweren die Erkenntnis vom Ursprungs dieses Wortes. Sowohl das radikale h, als auch das angeschwemmte k, gehen den Prozess der Sibilierung zu Š a l o š (hebr.), t h a l a t h (arab.), T e l a t (syr.).

Das Ergebnis ist: T e m o l ist = S a m u l = alt, 'E t m o l ist = 'U d m u l = alt, Š i l š o m ist = K i l h a m = alt. Und da die Paarung T e m o l Š i l š o m auf das verbindende W e verzichtet, so liegt hier ein Schulbeispiel von H e n D i a D y s vor. So sagen wir im Deutschen: Uralt, Stockalt, um Alt zu verstärken. Ähnlich dient T e m o l zur Verstärkung von Š i l š o m, und umgekehrt.

Mit dieser Deutung habe ich den semantischen Kontakt zwischen Š i l š o m und Š a l o š nicht in Abrede gestellt, und nur darauf hingewiesen, dass Š a l o š nicht nur die Zahl drei bezeichnet, sondern seinem Ursprunge nach den Begriff = hoch, gross, alt. In Š i l š o m ist diese alte Bedeutung von Š a l o š noch lebendig.

Ich habe ferner versucht, darzuweisen, dass T e m o l S a m u l etc. auf die Wz. M a l é = voll (Mille, Bolle, Ball, Apfel, Schwellung, anschwellen etc.) zurückzuführen ist, wobei hier im Hebräischen und Arabischen M a l é = voll = voll an Jahren, alt, bedeutet haben muss. In einer anderen T e m o l ähnlichen Form im germanischen Sprachgebiet hat sich die Bedeutung = volle Zeit erhalten: Im Niederländischen bedeutet E T M A A L = Tag und Nacht, im Angelsächsischen E D M A E L E ebenso, die Altfriesische Form ist E T M E L. Siehe hierzu H. Wirth: A u f g a n g d e r M e n s c h h e i t, S. 472,

sowie Arnold Wadler: *Germanische Urzeit*, S. 166/167, sowie Ida Ibbeken: *Tausend Alt-Friesische Wörter und ihre hebräischen Vetter*, S. 17 (New York, 1953): Et mel = Frist von 12 oder 24 Stunden.

J A R I D = JAHRMARKT

Das Wort Jarid = Jahrmarkt, foire, fair, findet sich vielfach in der talmudischen Literatur ('Abhoda Zara 11b; 13a, in der Tosefta, im J^erušalmi etc.) und in der späteren Literatur. Im Jiddischen hat Jerid die Bedeutung von Rummel, Lärm, Aufregung. Die Ableitung des Nomens von Jarod = herabsteigen erscheint Ben Jehuda gezwungen, er denkt eher an das arab. Warada = kommen, ankommen, besonders in Gruppen, die zur Stadt kommen. Dr. E. Landau bringt in seinem Buche: *Die gegensinnigen Wörter im Alt- und Neuhebräischen*, S. 201, die Meinung Buxtorf's, gegen die BJ polemisiert, Jarid käme von Jarod = herabsteigen, arab. Warada in gl. Bed. und Levys Auffassung, Jarid wäre eine absichtliche Kakophemie als Gegensatz zu 'Alija, der Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem, weil die Märkte gewöhnlich am Feste eines Götzen in der Nähe seines Tempels abgehalten zu werden pflegten. Jedoch können wir aus dem gewöhnlichen Gebrauche von Jarid eine solche Absicht nicht herauslesen. Ich schlage daher vor, Jarod = fließen, strömen, zur Erklärung des Nomens heranzuziehen. Diese Bedeutung liegt u. a. vor in Jer. 9.17; 13.17; 14.17, in Thr. 1.16, in Psalm 119.136, in Thr. 3.48. Dazu kommt das syrische Jurda = Fluss, Bach, der Flussname Jordan, hebr. Jarden, der Jardanos auf Kreta. Jarid könnte also bedeuten = Zusammenströmen, was für einen Jahrmarkt eine durchaus sinnvolle Erklärung wäre. Verwandt scheint mir Jarid mit hebr. Warid = Veine (Kanon), vor allem Halsader (Hullin 2.1, Z^ebhaḥim 25.1), das sind Blutgefäße. Zwar leitet BJ, III, S. 1271, Warid von Wered = Rose ab, erklärt also das Wort von der Farbe, doch muss Ben Jehudas Erklärung nicht stimmen. Lautlich erinnert Warid an Aorta. Dr. Rudolf Kleinpaul vermerkt hierzu in: *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*: Aorta, die grosse Schlagader, bei Hippokrates 'Aorté, im Sinne der Luftröhre, was erst Aristoteles auf die Arterie übertrug. Wörtlich: die Aufgehängte, von 'aeirein, in die Höhe heben, aufhängen. Bis hierher Kleinpaul. Wieso soll aber die Schlagader oder die Luftröhre eigentlich, das Aufgehängte bedeuten? Ist diese Erklärung so logisch? Ob Blutstrom oder Luftstrom, allemal ist etwas gemeint, was fließt, strömt. Das gilt für Aorta wie für Warid.

Auch das lat. *arteria* scheint mir die gleiche Wurzelsubstanz zu enthalten. *Arteria* ist = Schlag- oder Pulsader, sowie (*aspera*) Luftröhre. Das griechische *Arteria*, von der man das lat. *arteria* abzuleiten pflegt, hat die gl. Bed. Man kann die Heranziehung von *aorta* und *arteria* zur Erklärung von *Warid* und *Jarid* ablehnen. Jedoch erfolgte diese Heranziehung nicht ohne Absicht, denn wir besitzen eine idg-sem. Wasserwurzel, zu der u. a. *Jorédé Hajjam* = Seefahrer und gleichbedeutend *Poréšé Hajjam* = Seefahrer (BJ, X, 5248), sowie *Mefaršé-Jammim* (S. 5249) gehören, aber auch *Paros* = bluten (Soṭa 20.2), *Pares* = bluten, das griech. *brotos* = Blut, der russische Flussname *Prut*, die polnische *Warthe*, der Euphrat, hebr. *Pérat* (Gn. 2.14), ein Flussname, der nicht nur auf Mesopotamien beschränkt war, denn *Pérat* in Jer. 13.4-7 muss in der Nähe von Jerusalem fließen. Wir haben im Lateinischen *fretum* = Meer, Kanal. Die idg. Wurzel *PR T* für fließen (*brotos*, *fretum*, *Prut*) steht zweifelsohne fest, und da Labiallaute oft mit *J* wechseln (*iask* wird zu *fisk*, *piscis* Fisch; *jeled* = Kind (hebr.) ist arab. *Walad*, das deutsche Jammern und das deutsche Wimmern sind eines Ursprunges), so dürfen wir auch für den Stamm *PR D* = fließen eine NF: *J R D* ansetzen, und wie wir sehen, gehört hierzu nicht nur syr. *Jurda* = Bach und *Jordan-Jarden*, sondern auch *JARID* = Strom, Fluss, Zusammenfließen nämlich der Leute, die kaufen und verkaufen wollen, eine Bedeutung, die für Jahrmarkt ausgezeichnet zutrifft.

H O B H I L = FÜHREN, DARBRINGEN

Die Bedeutung des Verbums ist bekannt, nicht jedoch der Ursprung, denn ein Nomen *J B L*, das uns weitere Aufschlüsse geben könnte, liegt nicht vor. Mit Wurzeln, von denen Regenguss oder Widderhorn kommen, kann sachlich kein Zusammenhang vorliegen. Nun haben wir im Hebräischen zuweilen Nebenformen, die einen Rückschluss zulassen. Eine solche Form ist *Ḳobhol* = vor (II K. 15.10) mit zahlreichen Entsprechungen im Arabischen, Aramäischen und NH. Das arab. *ḵablu* ist = vor, vorne. *Haḵbil* im NH ist = begrüßen, gegenüberstehen etc. *Hobhil* ist also abgeschwächte *Ken-tum*form zu *Haḵbil*, und *Jud* steht für *Ḳuf*. Wir haben also den gleichen Lautwechsel vor uns wie zwischen *Jašiš* und *Ḳašiš*, beide Worte in der Bedeutung: Alter, Senator. Ein solcher Wechsel liegt auch vor zwischen *Jud* und *Kaf* in *Jašar* und *Kašer* = gerade, gradlinig, rechtschaffen, richtig, ordentlich. Die Lexikographen könnten also ansetzen als Stamm für *Hobhil* =

leiten, führen * J B L, vor, NF von K B L. Analogien liegen vielleicht im deutschen führen und fördern vor von * vor und * fürder, engl. *further* = weiter nach vorn. Denn wer etwas führt, leitet, bringt etwas vorwärts, trägt etwas nach vorne. So hilft uns eine Parallele aus einer anderen Sprache, die Urbedeutung von *Hobhil* von * K B L klarzustellen.

Š E K H E M = MORGEN

Š e k h e m und Š e k h e m ist der hebr. Name für Schulter; ausserdem hat die Stadt Nablus, arab. Nabulus, den Namen Sichein, hebr. Š e k h e m. Ges-B. leitet das Verbum *Haškim* = etwas früh tun, früh aufstehen (Gn. 19.2, Ri. 19.9, etc.) von Š. = Schulter ab, d. h. gemäss der Auffassung, dass das Verbum dem Nomen vorausgeht, leitet Ges-B. Š e k h e m = Schulter von *Haškim* = früh tun, früh aufstehen, ab. Sachlich und etymologisch jedoch geht Ges-B. umgekehrt vor, denn, obwohl er am Schlusse des Abschnittes, das dem Verbum gewidmet ist, hinzufügt: Deriv.: Š e k h e m I, vgl. II, behandelt er das Verbum, als ob ein Denominativum von Š. = Schulter vorliege. *Haškim* ist = aufladen, auf den Rücken der Lasttiere, was bei den Nomaden am frühen Morgen geschieht. Haupt übersetzt sogar: schultern machen. Auch das Wörterbuch von BJ geht in den Fusstapfen von Ges-B. (und Haupt etc.), und wo die Bedeutung unmöglich ein Schultern zulässt, wird erklärt: undeutliche Bedeutung. Nun lässt sich Tau, der schnell verschwindet (Ho. 6.4, 13.3), wobei für schnell oder früh „*Maškim*“ gebraucht wird, nicht mit einem Beduinen vergleichen. Oder in I S. 17.16 steht: *Haškem we-Ha'areb* = früh und spät. Da das zweite Glied des Wortpaares zu *'Ereb* = Abend, Dunkelwerden, gehört, ist es logisch, *Haškem* auf ein Wort Š e k h e m = Morgen, Sonnenaufgang, zurückzuführen. Dass ein solches Wort uns nicht bekannt ist, gibt uns keineswegs die Erlaubnis, nun aufs Gradwohl das Verbum mit Š. = Schulter zu kombinieren. Wir dürfen nicht um eines scheinbaren lexikalischen Vorteils willen die semantische Logik hintanstellen. Umgekehrt können wir vielleicht sagen: Es muss ein Wort Š e k h e m, das Morgen, Sonne, Licht, bedeutet hat, gegeben haben. Da Sonne oben, das Licht immer den Begriff: vor, vorne, vertritt — denn Licht kommt vom Osten und Osten ist die Vorderseite — so könnte Š. = Schulter auch oben oder vorne vertreten, im Gegensatz zum Fuss oder zum Rücken, wahrscheinlich: oben, denn in dieser Richtung hat Š. auch geographische Bedeutung gewonnen. T. S. akzeptiert in seinem Buche: *Hallašon wehassefer*, S. 175, die Auffassung von

Ges-B. über *H a š k i m* (von *Š*. = Schulter), obwohl er auf das arab. *B u k r a* = Morgen hinweist, von dem *B a k a r a*, *B a k k a r a*, und *T a b a k k a r a* abgeleitet werden, alle drei Verben in der Bed. = früh aufstehen, früh aufwachen. Aus *B u k r a* dürfen wir zurückschliessen auf die Existenz eines später in Vergessenheit geratenen Wortes für Morgen: *Š e k h e m*. Auch *H a š k e m* in der Bed. = eifrig (Jer. 7.13; 25.3 etc.) ist ja Lichtbegriff — und auch hier eine semantische Parallele: eifrig kommt von Eifer, und Eifer ist NF von Feuer. Verwandt mit *Š e k h e m* = Morgen, Licht, Sonne, scheint mir *Š o h a m* (Gn. 2.12; Ex. 25.7) zu sein, Name eines Edelsteins, und wir können uns wohl vorstellen, dass hier die Bed. = funkelnd, strahlend, leuchtend, vorliegt, also auch ein Lichtname. Verwandt mit *Š*. ferner ist *Š a ḥ o n* = heiss sein, warm sein, arab. *S a ḥ a n a*, *S a ḥ i n a*, *S a ḥ u n a*, ebenfalls Wärme- und Lichtbegriff, das arab. *S a ḥ n S a ḥ n a* etc. = Fieber, ein Wort, das dem hebr. *Š e ḥ i n* entspricht (Ex. 9.11; Lv. 13.18–20 etc.). Warm ist hebr. *Š a ḥ u n* (Joma 53.2), und da das übliche Wort für warm *Ḥ a m* ist, stellt sich uns die Frage, ob nicht *Š e k h e m* = Morgen, Licht, *Š o h a m* = Edelstein, *Š a ḥ u n* = warm, auf eine Form zurückzuführen sind, die das s-Präfix noch vermissen lässt. *Ḥ o m* = Wärme, und abgeschwächt: *J o m* = Tag = Licht, sind diese Form. Wechsel zwischen den beiden Labialen m und n ist eine häufige Erscheinung, sodass eine Verwandtschaft zwischen *Š e k h e m* = Morgen und *Š a ḥ u n* = warm nicht an diesem Wechsel scheitert. Auch der Wechsel zwischen scharfem Ḥ, Kh und H, liegt im Bereich der möglichen Variation eines Wortes. Die idg. Wortgruppe, germ. *skina, deutsch Schein, engl. shine, afries. skin = Glanz, schwed. sken = Glanz, dän. skin = Sonnenschein, bestätigt nur diese auf rein theoretisch-gedanklichem Wege gewonnene Erkenntnis, dass *Š e k h e m* = Licht bedeuten müsse. Noch deutlicher sagen uns das Formen mit m statt n: ahd. scimo, asächs. skimo, ags. scima = Glanz, got. skeima = Leuchte, sowie die Verbformen, engl. shimmer = glänzen, deutsch: schimmern, schwed. skimra = flimmern, *Š e k h e m* = scima, scimo, Glanz, Licht.

B A L L A Ṭ = INSGEHEIM

Ges-B. wie BJ, wie König, stellen *B a l l a ṭ* = heimlich, insgeheim zu *L u ṭ* = verbergen, bzw. zu der NF von *L U Ṭ*: *L a ' o ṭ* = verbergen (II S. 19.5), wo im 'E n H a p p o ' a l, wie das Infix von den hebr. Grammatikern genannt wird, ein 'Alef statt des sonst üblichen Waw steht. Ges-B. stellt auch, hier den alten jüdischen

Erklärern folgend, das Wort *L a h a ṭ* = Art Zauberei (Ex. 7.10-12), oftmals nur *L a ṭ* geschrieben (Ex. 7.22; 8.3, 14), also eine kontrahierte Form, zu *L u ṭ*-*L a ' o ṭ*-*L a h a ṭ*, wobei Ges-B. wie den alten Erklärern wohl die Deutung vorschwebte = Geheimkunst, was gut zu den Zauberkünsten der ägypt. *H a r t u m m i m* passen mag. Jedoch fehlt eine Erklärung für das *Pattah*, den A-Laut in *B a l l a ṭ* = insgeheim. Entweder kommt damit der direkte Artikel zum Ausdruck = *B e h a l l a ṭ* = in der Heimlichkeit, oder aber ein anderer Buchstabe ist ausgefallen. Das kann hier der Fall sein. Denn wir haben einen Stamm, der auf den bilateralen Stamm *L u ṭ* = verbergen, verstecken, zurückgeht, und der durch den Laryngal-Anlaut 'Ajin, arab. Rajin, auf Triliterität gebracht worden ist: 'A l a ṭ a ist = dichte Finsternis (Gn. 15.17; Ez. 12.6). Das arab. *Ġ i l a ṣ*, *Ġ i l ṣ a* ist = Trübheit, Undurchsichtigkeit. Das ist aber ebenfalls ein Zustand, in der Dinge dem Auge verborgen bleiben. Der sachliche und etymologische Zusammenhang ist also durchaus erkenntlich. Und dieser Zusammenhang gab auch Dr. A. Wadler zu denken, und in seinem Buche: *Germanische Urzeit*, S. 160-162, finden wir den Hinweis auf das engl. *cloud* = Wolke, gewiss = Verhüllung. Ist Wadlers Behauptung nicht logischer wie die Erklärung von Ferdinand Holthausen: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache* zu *cloud*, der dieses Wort mit ae. *clud* = Klumpen, Fels, zu gr. *gloutos* = Steiss, zusammenbringt? Und das hebr. 'A l o ṭ ist = Verfinstern, *H i t ' a l l e ṭ* = finster werden etc., siehe die zahlreichen Beispiele bei BJ, IX, 4511. Und Wolke ist gewiss eine Verfinsterung des Himmels. Der etymologische Zusammenhang ist also nicht ohne Weiteres von der Hand zu weisen, besonders da auch der bilaterale Stamm *L u ṭ* = verdecken, verhüllen, sich auch anderswo findet, so im lat. *lateo* = verberge, *latens* ist = verborgen, jedoch wenn wir den Ausdruck *latent* = verborgen gebrauchen, denken wir nicht daran, dass auch Lode, Lodenmantel, eine Verhüllung darstellt, dass Altnord. *loðh* = grobes Ueberkleid bedeutete, Angels. *Loðh* = Mantel, Decke — aber auch dass das sem. (Assyr.) *Liṭ-u* = Vorhang ganz ähnlich also dem Altnordischen und dem Angelsächs. ist! Auch Ida Ibbeken bringt in ihrer Schrift: *Tausend Alt-Friesische Wörter* etc., S. 58, das fries. *loth* = Kleid, und erkennt vollkommen richtig, dass das hebr. *Loṭ* = Schleier (Jes. 25.7) in die von ihr gebrachte Kette der Gleichungen gehört. Wadler sieht nun weiter und erkennt auch, dass die mit K-Anlaut gebildeten Worte: Kleid, *cloth*, Kleidung, russ. *Chalat* = Schlafrock, das polnische *Chalat* = Kaftan, zu hebr. *Geled* = Haut, Leder, Fell (Hi. 16.15), arab. *Djild*,

aram. *Gilda* etc. gehören. Vielleicht entstammt *Chalat* im Russischen und Polnischen dem Türkischen, in dem das Wort genau so lautet; wie jedoch will man die Ähnlichkeit von angelsächs. *clath* = Kleid, Altfries. *Klath*, Mittelhochd. *kleit* mit hebr. *Ḥaliṣa* erklären, ein Wort, das Kleid bedeutet? Siehe Ri. 14.19; II S. 2.21. Das Wort erscheint in der Bibel auch in der Form: *Maḥ^a-laṣot* (Jes. 3.22; Sach. 3.4), und die Erklärer sind so ratlos, dass sie die erste Form von einem Stamme *Ḥ I* erklären = rauben, ausziehen, plündern, die zweite von einem Stamme *Ḥ II* = befreien, obwohl doch auf der Hand liegt, dass Kleidungsbegriffe = kleiden, also bedecken, bedeuten sollten. Und dabei brauchte Ges-B. nur an assyr. *Ḥaliṣ-u* = vielleicht Lederwams odgl., zu denken, d. h. einen Kleid-Stamm mit *Ḥ*, nicht mit scharfem *Ḥ*. Ebenso wie Holthausen im Falle *cloud* den Etymon nicht erkennt, so hier Ges-B. bei *Ḥaliṣa* und *Maḥ^a-laṣa* = Kleid. Auch Barth erkennt nicht in seinen *Etym. St.*, 5, den Stamm von '*Alaṭa* = Verfinsterung, sonst würde er nicht auf Metathesis raten. Wir schulden also Wadler Dank für seine Gleichungen. Und nun zurück zu *Ballaṭ*, das sich nach diesen Erklärungen als Kontraktionsform aus: *B^e'alaṭ* = in der Verborgenheit, in der Verhüllung erklärt. Da der Šewa-Laut von *B^e* = in, durch, bei, sich an den nachfolgenden A-Laut assimiliert, wird aus der Zusammenziehung dieser beiden Laute ein *a*, und der Ausfall des '*Ajin* drückt sich durch das Dageš im Lamed aus.

Und doch bestehen nach wie vor zwei Möglichkeiten: *b^e'allaṭ* = insgeheim von einem dreibuchstabigen Worte, von dem ein Buchstabe ausfiel, oder *b^ehallaṭ* = in der Heimlichkeit, ein zweibuchstabiges Wort, in dem der direkte Artikel unhörbar wurde. Solche Fälle von Kontraktion durch Ausfall des *He* *ḥajj^edi'a* gibt es: so erklärt sich *l^emafré'a* = retrospektiv aus = *l^emin* *Ḥapp^eri'a* = von hinten her, von rückwärts. Ausgeschlossen ist also auch die Möglichkeit nicht, dass *Ballaṭ* ein = *B^ehallaṭ* ist. Jedoch wird im Allgemeinen mehr *b^e* = mit, durch, in, bei, mit dem indirekten Artikel: ein (der im Hebräischen gar nicht durch ein spezielles Wort ausgedrückt wird) verbunden: *B^eterem* = bevor, *B^eḥippazon* = eilig, *b^ezot* = dadurch, *B^elo'* = ohne, *B^egaron* = laut etc., im späteren Hebr.: *B^eseder* = ordentlich, *B^ešedek* = richtig etc. Gewiss haben wir in der späteren Literatur: '*Eleṭ* = Finsternis, woraus wir konstruieren könnten: *B^e'elet*, jedoch *B^e* mit *Ereš* = Erde verbunden wird zu *Baareš*, und da wir '*alaṭa* = Finsternis haben, so könnte auch eine maskuline NF hiervon bestanden haben. Oft erkennt die Sprachforschung richtig den Lautausfall, ohne dann genau zu wissen, welcher Laut zum Ausfall

kam. Beispiel einer solch unrichtiger Kontraktionsdeutung ist etwa die Ableitung des jidd. *J a d e s* in der Bedeutung Gewissen von einem nicht existierenden hebr. *J a d ' u t*, während in Wahrheit hier *J a h a d u t* = Judentum vorliegt, *J a h d e s* in aschkenasischer Aussprache, in der Bedeutung = Gewissen, Gewissenhaftigkeit, siehe herzu Prof. J. Klausner: *H a l l a š o n H a ' i b h r i t — L a š o n H a j j a*, Jerusalem, 1949, S. 46/47. Das H war zum Ausfall gelangt, nicht ein 'Ajin, also vielleicht ein umgekehrter Fall, wie der hier angeführte.

Ḥ A N I K H A = BEINAME

Die Bedeutung des Wortes, das sich in Giṭṭin 9,8, im Midraš Rabba, in der Tosefta, findet, ist gesichert: Beinamen, *surnom*, *surname*. Alle Ableitungen und Deutungen von: einweihen, Gaumen der Kinder mit Dattelsaft einreiben, reif, erfahren, stiften, können hier nicht zutreffen. Sollte also *Ḥ a n i k h a* Lehnwort sein? Käme das Lat. *A n n e x u m* nicht sinngemäss in Frage? *N o m e n a n n e x u m* ? = angehängter Name. Man denke an die vokalische Aussprache hebr. Wörter mit Ḥ: Asmonaeer, Enoch, Ezeziel etc.

N E Š E K H = WUCHER

Ges-B. übersetzt N. mit = Zins, Wucher. Das Wort findet sich sowohl alleine (Ex. 22.24), als auch in Verbindung mit *M a r b i t* (Lv. 25.37), als auch in Verbindung mit *T a r b i t* (Lv. 25.36). *M a r b i t* und *T a r b i t* stehen für das spätere *R i b b i t* = Zins.

Aus der Tatsache, dass für Zins zwei verschiedene Worte stehen, hat man nun auf einen Unterschied zwischen *M a r b i t* (bezw. *T a r b i t*) und N. schliessen wollen (Dillmann zu Lv. 25.36, sowie Nowack, Buhl, Hejcl, D. H. Müller). Jedoch scheint hier ein Fall von *H e n D i a D y o i n* vorzuliegen (Hendiadys), wo durch den Gebrauch von zwei gleichbedeutenden oder bedeutungsmässig eng zueinander gehörigen Worten der Eindruck des Sprechers oder Schreibers verstärkt werden soll. Solche Fälle von *H e n D i a D y o i n* finden sich zahlreich in der Bibel und der späteren hebräischen Literatur, aber auch in anderen Sprachen. Dazu findet sich Literatur u. a. bei E. Z. Melamed in *T a r b i z*, Vol. XVI, No. 4: *H e n d i a d y s i n T h e B i b l e*. David Heinrich Müller sah, dass hier im Falle von *N e š e k h u m a r b i t* eine solche Bedeutungsverstärkung vorliegt, und auch N. H. Torczyner bringt bei der Anführung von Beispielen dieser Art diese beiden Worte gleich zu

Anfang (N. H. Torczyner: *Hal la šon we e has sefer*, Band I, erste Ausgabe (1948), S. 325).

Die übliche Erklärung für *Ne šek h* = Zins, Wucher, ist nun die Ableitung von *Na šok h* = beissen. Ges-B. bringt: = N. eigentlich Biss, Misshandlung, ebenso wird *Na šok h* übersetzt: beissen, ausleihen gegen Zinsen etc. Auch Ben Jehuda bringt *Ta ššik h* als Hif'il-Form von *Na šok h*, wozu vermerkt wird: *Be ha š'ala*, also figürlich, oder weiterentwickelt aus. Können diese Erklärungen denn stimmen? Den historischen Grund für diese Erklärung kennen wir: In *Baba Meši'a* 5.1 wird *No šek h* = beissend als Erklärung für *Ne šek h* gegeben, und der Bartenura fügt hinzu: „weil er von ihm nimmt, was er ihm nicht gibt.“ Und ähnlich ist Raschi's Erklärung zu Ex. 22.24: *Ne šek h*, Ein Zins, der wie ein Schlangenbiss wirkt. Die Schlange beisst und macht eine kleine Wunde am Fusse. Zuerst ist die Wunde nicht spürbar, plötzlich schwillt sie an und ist fühlbar bis zum Scheitel. So ist es auch mit dem Zins. Zuerst spürt man ihn nicht, dann steigt er und verschlingt zum Schluss viel Geld. Wir sehen aus all dem, dass N. von den meisten Lexikographen zu *Na šok h* = beissen gestellt wird. Selbst wenn König *Na šok h* I = beissen und *Na šok h* II = Zins nehmen scheidet, so geschieht das nur, um dies N. II als Denominativum von *Ne šek h* = Zins zu erklären, ohne dass ein selbständiger Stamm hier angenommen würde.

Eine andere Erklärung hat Rudolf von Raumer, der *Ne šek h* mit griech. *tokos* = Gewinn, Zins, Zinsen, Nachkommenschaft zusammenbringt. Ueber diese gr. Wz. unterrichtet auch Hermann Möller: *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, (Kopenhagen, 1906), Seite 182/3. Möller macht auf sanskr. *toka-m* = Nachkommenschaft, Kinder, auf das deutsche erzeugen, mhd. *ziugen*, aufmerksam. Wer zeugt, vermehrt die Zahl der Kinder. Wer erzeugt, vermehrt die Zahl der Waren. Zins und Wucher vermehren die ursprüngliche Summe, es liegt also zwischen den verschiedenen Bedeutungen von *tokos* ein logischer semantischer Zusammenhang vor. Vielleicht bedeutet auch Tochter, *daugh-ter* ursprünglich = Vermehrung (die Endung *ter* ist wie in Va-ter, Mu-tter, Bru-der Endung). Wir dürfen also für das Idg. durchaus eine Wurzel **tok* = vermehren voraussetzen. Möller gibt diese Wurzel an: Vorindog. *d-u-gz-* > indog. *t-u-kz-* = Nachkommenschaft, Kinder.

Das Nun als *Pe Hap-po'al* ist meist ein Anlaut, der zum ursprünglich bilateralen Stamme hinzuwuchs. Siehe hierzu Prof. D. Dr. Georg Beer: *Hebräische Grammatik* II, S. 39 (Das schwache oder unvollkommen 3 konsonantige Verb). Nun lassen sich manche hebräischen Verba *Nun*¹, ihres Anlautes entkleidet,

als biliterale Stämme deuten von ursprünglich sem-idg. Ursprunge. Beispiele: hebr. *n a - f a l* (deutsch: fallen), hebr. *n a - š a ḥ* (deutsch: siegen), hebr. *n a - ṭ a l* (=nehmen, lat. *t o l l o* = wegnehmen), hebr. *n a - b h a ḥ* (=bellend, deutsch: fauchen), hebr. *n a - f a ḥ* (=blasen, deutsch: anfachen), hebr. *n a - b h a l* (deutsch: faulen), hebr. *n a - t a n* (=geben, lat. *d o n a r e* = geben), hebr. *n a - š a k ḥ* (=beissen hat Entsprechungen in Säge, Sichel, Stich, stechen, Stachel, lat. *i n s t i g a r e* = anstacheln, idg. Wz. *steig = stechen).

Nach diesen Beispielen liegt also eine Gleichung *t o k o s* = *n e - š e k ḥ* im Bereich des Möglichen. Auch hier wäre das Nun eine Präfigierung zu einem Stamme, der dem idg. Stamme *- t - ū k₂* entsprechen müsste.

Ein solcher Stamm ist im Hebräischen nachweisbar. Da haben wir *w^e - j i d g u* = zahlreich werden (Gn. 48.16) von einem Verbum *D a g o* = zahlreich werden. Ein Zusammenhang mit *D a g* = Fisch muss nicht bestehen. Wir haben sodann mit einem anderen S-Laute, dem Sin, *J i s g é* = wachsen (Hi. 8.11) von einem Verbum *S a g o* = wachsen. Wir haben *S a g i* = gross (Hi. 36.26). Wir haben *S a k ḥ* = Summe im Nhbr.

Alle diese Worte bezeichnen ein Viel, ein Mehr, ein Wachsen, Anwachsen, Grösserwerden etc. Vielleicht haben wir auch in *'A t i ḳ*, mit *A l e f* als Anlaut, den gl. Stamm vor uns. A. bedeutet =Galerie, Aufbau (Ez. 41.15) also etwas, was zum Hause hinzukam, was zuwuchs. Und ähnlich mag es mit dem franz. *Ê t a g e* liegen, mit dem deutschen Stock-werk, mit Stiege und Steigen. Immer ist ein Hinzu, Aufwärts, ein Mehr, ein Nachoben hin, damit gemeint.

Rein bedeutungsmässig gesehen, ist nun auch Wucher ein Wachsen, Kl-G, 17. Auflage, gibt ausdrücklich an: die ahd. mhd. Bed. „Nachkommenschaft“ weist auf Verwandtschaft mit der unter *w a c h s e n* behandelten Sippe.

Das hebr. *R i b b i t* = Zins mit den Nebenformen *M a r b i t* und *T a r b i t* kommt gewiss von *R a b ḥ* = gross, viel. Hier liegt eine semantische Parallele zu Wucher vor.

Dürfen wir nun von *R i b b i t*, *M a r b i t* und *T a r b i t*, den Gliedern der Wortpaare mit N. zurückschliessen auf N. selbst? Wenn *R i b b i t* ein Mehrwerden ist, wenn Wucher ein Hinzuwachsen ist, dann dürfen wir analog auch für das gleichbedeutende N. dieselbe Bedeutung voraussetzen.

Aus all dem erhellt, dass die alte Erklärung, die N. von *N a š o k ḥ* = beissen abzuleiten versuchte, eine volksetymologische Erklärung war, und das Rudolf von Raumers Deutung die einzig richtige ist.

K A W W E R E T

K. bedeutet Bienenstock, und ähnliche Formen im Arab. und Aramäischen lassen darauf schliessen, dass hier ein gemeinsem. Wort vorliegt. Jedoch ist Fraenkel: *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (1886), der Meinung, das hebr. Wort, das sich an einigen Stellen im Talmud findet, käme aus dem Aramäischen, und das aram. Wort aus dem Persischen. Liegt es nun nicht nahe, in *Kawweret* eine Dialektnüance von *K^efar* = Dorf zu sehen? *Kawweret* wäre also Siedlung, gekürzt aus *Kawweret šel D^ebhorim* = Bienensiedlung, Bienendorf? Ben Jehuda bemerkt zu *Kafar* = Dorf, arab. *Kafr*, assyr. *kapru*, aram. *kafra*, die Urbedeutung dieser Worte wäre nicht bekannt. Nun haben wir im Arab. *Djiwar* = Nachbarschaft, ebenso *Djavar* und *Mudjawara* = Nachbarschaft, sowie das Verbum: *Djavar* = wohnen. Hier scheint doch eine Wortfamilie vorzuliegen, die eng zu *Kawweret* gehört.

K^efar = Dorf (Ct. 7.12), von Ges.-B. *Kafar* geschrieben, hat NF in *Kofer* (I S. 6.18), und da das arab. *Djauwara* = wohnen ist, so haben wir in GWR eine NF zu KFR. Das arab. *Djira* = Nachbarschaft ist kontrahiert aus **Dj^ewira* < *G^ewira*. Den gleichen Stamm haben wir im Idg. Das Deutsche besitzt in *Bauer*¹ = Käfig (Vogelbauer) den gleichen Wohnbegriff. Das Schlesische hat dazu eine NF: *Gebauer* = Käfig — welche Aehnlichkeit mit *Kawweret* = Käfig für Bienen: Das ahd. *bur war* = Haus, Kammer, ags. *bur* = Kammer, Hütte, mundartl. *byre* = Viehstall. Die deutschen Ortsnamen *Beuren*, *Büren*, *Buer* bed. = Häuser, Siedlung. Afrz. *buron war* = Hütte, wonach der engl. Adelsname *Byron*. Im Illyr. *byrion* = Wohnung, Haus, haben wir den gl. Stamm. Ebenso im deutschen *Bauer*³ = Mitbewohner. Nachbar ist = naher Bauer, naher Bewohner. Mit *Bauen* = aufrichten liegt also kein Zusammenhang vor — das *r* in *Bauer*³ gehört zum Stamme. Ebenso wie *Gebauer* NF zu *Bauer*¹ ist, so hat auch *Bauer*³ die NF: ahd. *gibūro*, mhd. *gebüre*. Lautlich ähnelt diese Form dem arab. *Djiwar* = Nachbarschaft. Wir sehen also, dass *Bauer*¹ = Wohnung und *Bauer*³ = Bewohner eines Ursprunges sind, wir haben schon oben gesehen, dass unser *Kawweret* mit *K^efar*-*Kafar*-*Kofer* eines Ursprunges ist. Hier liegt ein uralter idg-sem. Wohnbegriff vor.

H A Z Z A N

Heute ist *Hazzan*, judendeutsch: *Chasen*, der Kantor, Vorbeter, Schulsinger, jedoch beweisen die Stellen in Šabbat 1.3, in Joma 7.1, Makkot 3.1 etc., dass *H.* ursprünglich Küster, *marguillier*,

s e x t o n, bedeutete. Meist kommt H. in Verbindung mit K^en e s - s e t vor, also = Küster der Synagoge. Ueber die Ableitung ist nichts bekannt. Die Hypothese, der Name liesse sich von H a z o = schauen ableiten, wird von BJ abgelehnt, das sei zu hergeholt.

Ich kam auf die Vermutung, hier könnte eine hebr. Variante des arab. H a d d a m vorliegen. H. ist Diener. Wäre das ein aram. Wort, würde diese Vermutung rasch einleuchten. Denn das Hebräische hat oftmals ein Z a j i n, wo das Aramäische ein D a l e t hat. Z a h a b h = D a h a b a (=Gold), hebr. Z^er o ' a = aram. D^er a ' (=Arm).

Jedoch entspricht dem hebr. Z a j i n lautgesetzlich im Arabischen entweder ein Z â (= Z a j i n) oder ein D â l (entspricht einem D a l e t ohne D a g e š).

Und trotzdem: Lautregeln sind keine Lautgesetze. Auf Ausnahmen von den semitischen Lautregeln weisen hin de Lagarde: S e m i t i c a I, 27 und Nöldeke: Z D M G, XXXII, 406. Die Ohren und der Mund des Menschen sind keine Maschinen, die ehernen physikalischen Gesetzen folgen und ausnahmslos sind. Wir kennen ja die Kritik an den Grimmschen Lautgesetzen. Ebenso wie nun nicht immer einem t im Niederdeutschen ein s im Oberdeutschen entspricht, oder einem lateinischen c ein deutsches h, ebenso wenig dürfen wir annehmen, dass die im Allgemeinen richtigen Lauttabellen, die man im Bauer-Leander oder Brockelmann oder sonstwo findet, ausnahmslos allen Spracherscheinungen gerecht werden. Es sind Tendenzen des Lautwandels, aber keine Gesetze.

Selbst wenn wir im Selbstanschluss eine Nummer wählen, kann es geschehen, dass wir eine andere, vielleicht ähnliche, bekommen. Es wird für diesen Irrtum irgendwelche technische Gründe geben, Feuchtigkeit in der Luft, zu geringe Oelung in der Drehscheibe, Undichtigkeit von Drähten odgl. Also selbst Geräte, die präzisen technischen Anordnungen folgen, lassen Ausnahmen zu. Um wie viel eher der menschliche Mund, der solchem Automatismus nicht verschrieben ist!

Und nun zurück zu H a z z a n, das ich versuche mit H a d - d a m = Diener gleichzustellen. Dem hebr. Z^eb h u b h = Fliege entspricht lautgesetzlich D u b a b a und D i b a b a = Fliege (mit D a l). Jedoch haben wir auch arab. D u b b a n = Fliegen (mit D a l). Diese zweite Form entspricht aber nicht den Lauttabellen. Sie ist also eine Ausnahme. Oder: wir haben für hebr. Z a k a n = Bart arab. D a k a n und D i k a n. Neben diesen lautgesetzlichen Formen aber auch D a k n (Plural: D u k u n) für Bart, Kinn. Also ein D a l neben einem D a l. Auch hier wieder eine Ausnahme. Wir haben im Arabischen D a l a f a für Z a l o f = fließen im Hebr. (jedoch haben wir auch D a l o f). Wir haben für hebr. G a -

z o m = abschneiden im Arab. D j a d a m a, also im Hebr. ein Z a j i n, im Arab. ein D a l. Dem arab. D a l i ḥ = Regenwolke entspricht hebr. Z a l o^a ḥ = sich mit Wasser anfüllen, (Jerušalmi Baba M^eṣi'a' 10.4). Dem hebr. B a z o ḳ = streuen entspricht im Arabischen B a d a ḥ a, wo zu dem Wechsel Z a j i n gegen D a l noch ein zweiter Lautwechsel hinzukommt.

Ich halte es daher durchaus für möglich, dass Ḥ a z z a n = Ḥ a d d a m = Diener ist. Hinzu kommt: Das arab. S a d i n bed. „Hüter der Synagoge.“ Das wäre eine mögliche S a t e m f o r m zu den beiden K e n t u m f o r m e n, die ich gegenüberstellte. Und S a d i n hat ein D a l. Bedeutungsmässig aber ist ein Hüter der Synagoge und ein Küster etwas so Ähnliches, dass man an einer solchen semantischen Gleichung nicht ohne Weiteres vorbei kann.

Ş A F O N

Ş a f o n, j-a. Ş i p p u n a für Norden, gehört zu den wenig geklärten Worten. Die alte Erklärung von Ş a f o n = verstecken (König) überzeugt wenig, J. Barth wies in E t y m. S t., 26 auf arab. R i ḥ u - l - ş a f a = östlicher (Wind) hin und erklärte das N u n als Endung. Tur Sinay denkt an Abkunft von H a ş e f = überschwemmen, und an den Stamm Ş u f = schwimmen. Auch er erklärt also das Nun als Suffix (Ben Jehuda, Vol. XI, 5585). Zudem erklärt Tur Sinay das Wort in Hi. 26.7 als = Insel, Seeland. Da nun in den langen Eiszeiten der Norden von Wasser und Eis überschwemmt war, so ist eine solche Deutung sachlich wohl möglich. Hinzu kommt das Nomen S e f i n a, S a f i n a = Schiff, in dem man einen Wasserbegriff sehen mag, vielleicht verwandt mit der idg. Wz. Schwimmen Schwamm, S w i n e D w i n a, dem Schwimmvogel Schwan etc. Die bilaterale Wz. haben wir im idg. * p a n o = Wasser. Das s ist ein Präfix. Aber auch im hebr. J a w e n = Schlamm (Ps. 40.3) dürfen wir das J u d als Präfix erklären. Das lat. v e n a = Kanal, das deutsche Fenn = Sumpf, das nnl. v e e n etc. sind ebenso Wasserbegriffe wie das hebr. J a w e n = Sumpf und S e f i n a = Schiff. Hinzu kommt, dass wir in Nord eine Parallele haben. Denn Nord aus N o r + d als Endung ist Wasser, dann Schiff. Normannen sind Schiffsleute. Ş a f o n = Nord ist ebenfalls Wasser, jedoch gehört das N u n zum Stamme.

Wenn also Tur Sinay Norden, Şafon, mit evtl. phöniz. NF: Ş a d d e P e L a n m e d, als Seeseite erklärt, so befindet er sich in Uebereinstimmung mit gewissen Germanisten, die n o r - d, n o r - t h, ebenso erklären. Obwohl vom semantischen Standpunkt nichts dagegen einzuwenden ist, so spricht dagegen S e f i n a = Schiff,

in dem das Nun ebenfalls konstant ist, ebenso J a w e n = Sumpf, Schlamm, wo das N u n ebenfalls zum Stamm zu gehören scheint. Die idg. Wz. * p a n o = Wasser, die — wie mir scheint — eine sem-idg. Wz. ist, würde auch für Š a f o n eine plausible Deutung abgeben.

'E R ' E L L I M

Das Wort 'E r ' e l l a m in Jes. 33.7 gilt als unsicheres Wort, und Einige kombinieren den Namen mit 'A r i ' e l = 'A r i ' E l = Löwe Gottes (II S. 23.20). Auch findet sich ein ähnliches Wort H a r ' e l in Ez. 43.15. Ges.-B. übersetzt: Name des Brandopferaltars. Die *Encyclopedia Biblica*, "Hierosolyma," 1950, I, fasst alle diese Namen unter 'A r i ' e l zusammen, wobei auch auf den gl. Namen der M e š a ' - Inschrift (in der nur das J u d fehlt) hingewiesen wird, und stellt 4 Bedeutungen fest: 1) Eines der heiligen Geräte des Heiligtums nach Ansicht der späteren jüdischen Ueberlieferung: Der Altar, 2) Engel, 3) Das Heiligtum, der Berg Zion oder Jerusalem überhaupt, 4) Ein grosser Löwe. Sprachlich deutet die E. B. (N. H. T. = Tur Sinay) 'A r i ' e l von 'I r j a = Feuerherd, jedoch neigt sie dazu, die Grundbedeutung in 'A r i ' A r j e = Löwe zu sehen. In beiden Fällen sieht die E. B. den Namen als komponiert aus zwei Worten an. Nun hat die ganze Kompositionstheorie, die in der jüdischen Tradition sehr beliebt war, ein midraschisches Gesicht. So wird M e l š a r = Kellermeister gedeutet als = M e l i š r a ' , als böser Fürsprecher, schlechter Ratgeber, oder M e š o r a ' = Aussätziger wird erklärt als M o š i ' š e m r a ' = Verleumder etc. Und selbst moderne Erklärer sind nicht frei von dieser Sucht, einfache Worte als zusammengesetzt zu erklären, siehe etwa Ahron Marcus: B a r z i l a i etc., in denen wir in Hüll' und Füll' solche Deutungen finden.

Ich lehne diese Kompositionstheorie generell ab, wenn ich auch das Vorhandensein nicht ganz in Abrede stelle. Mir scheint nun, dass 'A r i ' e l zu einer Wurzel r-l gehört, die mit Laryngal-Präfix in 'A r e l = unbeschnitten, ursprünglich: bedeckt, in 'O r l a = Bedeckung, in 'A r o l = bedeckt lassen etc. vorhanden ist, aber auch mit Laryngal-Infix in R e ' a l a = Schleier (Jes. 3.19). Auch ein Schleier ist eine Bedeckung. G o r a l = Los, Schicksal, ist das unseren Sinnen Verborgene, Verdeckte, im Schoss der Zukunft liegende Geschick. Die Erklärung G o r a l = Koralle = Steinchen, muss nicht stimmen. Ebenso unsicher wie nun die Deutung von 'E r ' e l l a m 'A r i ' e l H a r ' e l ist, für die vier verschiedene Deutungen vorliegen, ist nun auch die Deutung des Wortes Graal

(siehe hierzu Ludwig Uhland). Ist Graal ein Kleinod, der Stein der Weisen, das Lebenselixir? Auf jeden Fall ist auch hier von etwas Geheimnisvollem, Verborgenen, Magisch Bedeutsamen, die Rede. Graal, Har'el, 'Ari'el, 'Er'ellam, Goral, wie auch immer die differenzierenden Bezeichnungen sein mögen, waren vielleicht EINS, ein heiliges kultisches Gerät, das die Zukunft, das Verborgene, wahrsagte, von einer Wurzel, von der wir Re'ala = Schleier und 'Orla = Bedeckung sicher kennen. Goral wäre also Los, Geschick, das Schleierhafte, und ebenso liessen sich Har'el und 'Ari'el deuten. Stellt das Gimmel in Goral einen k-Laut dar, so liegen in dem He von Har'el oder dem Alef von 'Ari'el abgeschwächte Laryngallaute zum gleichen Worte vor

DAS „R E Š“ ALS DEHNZEICHEN IN DEN QUATERNÄRSTÄMMEN

Die Zurückführung vierbuchstabiger Worte auf Stämme, die der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft wohl als dreibuchstabige Stämme bekannt sind und sich befriedigend deuten lassen, ist eine oftmals schwierige Aufgabe und manches Wort widersteht allen Versuchen einer Deutung. Mit am leichtesten ist die Deutung der sogenannten Qirtel-Formen (I. Bursztyń, Gr., 146), auch Par'el-Formen genannt. Sowohl in der Bibel, als auch in der talmudischen Literatur, finden sich Fälle von Par'el, besonders im Aramäischen. Dieses Reš an zweiter Stelle der vierbuchstabigen Wurzel stellt eine Dehnung vor, ähnlich dem deutschen h (in lehren, sehr, mehr etc.). Das bedeutet, dass dies Reš etwa dem arab. Ġajin entsprach, und in der Tat haben alte hebräische Grammatiker ein dagešiertes Reš, das man wohl dem aspirierten griech. ρ = rh gleichsetzen darf (BJ, XIII (14.) Band, 6276–6277). Meist erscheint dieses Reš als Auslaut nach a oder o. Diese Erscheinung hat einen Umfang, dass es angezeigt erscheint, aufzuzeichnen, welche Wortstämme davon erfasst sind, und vor allem regen die sicheren Ergebnisse an, auf dem schon beschrittenen Wege fortzuschreiten und auch andere Worte, bei denen man den Zusatzcharakter des Reš nicht erkannt hat, darauf anzusehen, ob hier nicht die gleiche Spracherscheinung vorliegt. Wir kennen aus dem Deutschen eine umgekehrte Erscheinung, dass durch legere Aussprache das R am Schluss der Silbe in Fortfall gerät. So sagt der Berliner va-lieren statt verlieren, va-gessen statt vergessen, und so erklären Germanisten da aus dar, hie aus hier. Dem engl. whe-re entspricht das deutsche wo. Auch hier liegt also Abfall des auslautenden r vor. Beim Entstehen des r-Lautes in unseren vierbuchstabigen Stämmen liegt nun eine Anstrengung des Mundes vor, einen Laut besonders gut auszusprechen, sogenannte Ueberbetonung. Was ist

z. B. Karnickel anders als Kaninchen? In lat. *cuniculus* hören wir kein r. Also liegt in Karnickel ein deutlicher Fall von Ueberbetonung vor. So wird auch das deutsche Kapuze von Lat. *cappa*, mtl. *caputium* = Mönchskappe im Norw. zu *karpusa*, im Schwed. zu *karpus*, und auch das Nnl. kennt *karpoe*ts neben *kapo*ets. So heissen die Tataren auch Tartaren, ebenfalls ein Zeichen von gedehnter Aussprache.

Im Nachfolgenden sollen also eine Anzahl von Par'el-Formen, für die entweder Nomina oder Verba vorliegen (oder beides) hier untersucht werden. Es ist weder auf alphabetische Reihenfolge, noch auf Chronologie, hier Wert gelegt worden, sondern ausschliesslich auf den Grad der Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass das r ein Zusatzlaut ist, auf die Tatsache, dass ein Wort mehr bekannt ist, wie ein anderes udgl. Da sich dieser Aufsatz auf das Hebräische beschränkt, sind arab. und aram. Worte nur insoweit zur Behandlung gelangt, als sie zum Verständnis der Ausführungen unerlässlich sind. Diese Arbeit lässt sich also in lexikalischer Hinsicht gewiss erweitern.

1) Š a r b h i ṭ = Scepter (Est. 4.11, 5.2, 8.4). Ges - B. bemerkt hierzu: aramisierend zu Š e b h e ṭ = Stock, Stab. Diese aram. Form wäre Š a b h i ṭ, bekannt in der Zusammensetzung K o k h e b h a d e - š a b h i ṭ = Komet (B'rakhot 58.2). Das Babyl. hat Š a b b i ṭ u, auch das Kopt. kennt eine Form ohne r: š (e) b o t neben gedehnten Formen: š a r b ô t, h e r b ô t. Abzuleiten wäre Š. von einem Verbalstamme Š a b h o ṭ = schlagen (Šabbat 78.2, J^eruš. Šabbat 13.3 etc.), und unter Bezugnahme auf die kopt. N F h e r b ô t lässt sich vermuten, dass auch Ḥ a b h o ṭ = schlagen, klopfen (Dt. 24.20; Jes. 27.12; Ri. 6.11; Ru. 2.17) hierher gehört. Wir hätten Kentum- wie Satemform einer gemeinsamen Wurzel vor uns. Die idg. biliterale Wurzel haben wir etwa im engl. to b e a t = schlagen, in to b u t = stossen (afr. b o t e r), in b e e t l e = Schläger, in to b a t t e r = zerschlagen, in b a t t l e = Kampf (afr. b a t a i l l e) etc. Auf Triliterität gebracht haben wir diesen Stamm auch im Hebr. in B a ' o ṭ (I S. 2.29, Dt. 32.15) Ausschlagen, stampfen ist = schlagen. Es verdient vermerkt zu werden, dass der gl. idg-sem. Stamm auch im deutschen Amboss (=Aufbau) vorhanden ist. Kautzsch punktiert Š. in seiner Bearbeitung der Grammatik v. Gesenius (1909), S. 108 Š a r b i ṭ mit einem Dageš im Bet, doch ist die überlieferte Form nicht-dagešiert. Wir müssen uns die aram. Form Š a b h i ṭ als Ausgangspunkt vor Augen halten. Das Reš dehnt wohl die ursprüngliche Form, ändert jedoch nicht die Aussprache des nachfolgenden Lautes.

2) K a r s e m = abfressen (Ps. 80.14), j-a: Ḳ a r s e m, wird von

Ges-B., Ges-K. (1909), S. 161, auf Kasom (Ez. 44.20) = abscheren, abstutzen, und Gazom, nh., j-a. in gl. Bed. zurückgeführt. D. H. es wird erkannt, dass hier eine Dehnform vorliegt von einer sonst bekannten Wurzel. BJ bringt auch das arab. Karšama für das hebr. Karsem. Jedoch hat auch das Arab. die trilaterale Form Djadama = abschlagen, stutzen, sowie Djadama, mit Dal statt Dal. Karṭem = abpflücken (Ma'serot 3.3) ist weitere NF zu Karsem.

3) Verwandt mit 2) ist auch Gardom (Para 11.9 etc.) = der Rest, der übrig bleibt von einer Sache, von dem ein Teil abgehackt oder abgeschnitten ist. BJ vermutet, dass das r ein Zusatzlaut ist, und schliesst auf Abkunft von Gedom oder Godem (Makkot 8.1) = Baumstumpf. Stumpf, verwandt mit Stummel und verstümmeln, mit Stempel, dem adj. stumpf, geht auf eine Wurzel *stembh = verstümmeln zurück, die ihrerseits wieder in *stem = anstossen, hemmen, eine NF hat. Wer stammelt, ist gehemmt, wer stumm ist, der ist gehemmt, vielleicht weil man annahm, ein Stummer besäße keine Zunge, die Zunge wäre ihm abgeschnitten. So haben wir in stumm und stumpf die bilaterale Form zum hebr. Kaṭom = abschneiden (Šabbat 74.2), zu Gazom, Kasom etc. und zu den daraus resultierenden vierbuchstabigen Formen. Auch das seltene Kitmajot (Br. R. 90.5) ist wohl mehr wie Asche, Aschenreste, es dürfte sich um Stummel, d. h. kleine Holzteilchen, Splitter, handeln. Mit Gardom = Restteil, ist nicht verwandt Gardom = Richtplatz vom lat. gradus.

4) Kardom = Axt (I S. 13.20) hat im arab. Kaddum = Axt eine dreibuchstabige Ausgangsform. Während Ges-B. sich mit dieser Erklärung begnügen, hat der BJ (T. S.) weitergehende Thesen, und sieht in Kardom eine andere Aussprache für Garzen = Axt, wofür das j-a. Hašina hat, das Assyr. Hašinnu, während das Ugaritische ḪRŠN, also eine Dehnform mit r hat. Der BJ (T. S.) hält eine Zurückführung auf den Stamm Kadod II = abschneiden, ausschneiden, für möglich. Wie jedoch erklärt sich das Mem in Kardom - Kaddum, das Nun in Garzen - Hašina? Sollte 4) nicht zu 2) und 3) gehören? In allen diesen Worten ist der M-Laut konstant.

5) Harṭum = lange Nase, Rüssel, arab. Hurṭum, ist nach BJ eine Dehnform, die auf nh. Hoṭem = Nase zurückgeht. Das R ist also Zusatzlaut. Ges-B. verbindet hiermit auch das biblische Ḫaṭom = bezähmen (Jes. 48.9), jedoch ist die Bedeutung nicht sicher. Denn, ist die Bedeutung = bezähmen, dann müssen wir annehmen, dass hier NF von Ḫatom = versiegeln, verschliessen, vorliegt.

Auch das arab. *Ḥiṭam* = Maulkorb beinhaltet den gl. Begriff = zurückhalten, abhalten, verschliessen, muss also nichts mit *Ḥoṭem* zu tun haben, trotz der körperlichen Nähe von Maulkorb zur Nase, Schnauze. *Ḥoṭem* = Nase ist NF von *Ḳedem* = vorne, Ost, früh, das was vorne liegt. Die zweibuchstabige Form dieses Stammes haben wir vielleicht im griech. *stoma* = Mund, Schnauze, denn auch in dreibuchstabigen Formen bedeutet das Wort nicht immer nur Nase, sondern des öfteren auch Schnauze, so im Assy. *ḥu(ṭ)ṭimu* = Schnauze, arab. *Ḥaṭm* = Schnauze.

6) *Barzel* = Eisen, j-a. *Parzel*, altarab. *Firzil*, etc. ist ein bis heute nicht gedeutetes Wort, sodass einige Forscher auch Entlehnung aus einer nichtsem. Spr. annahmen. Die Vermutung, dass das Reš ein Dehnlaut sein könnte, stützt sich auf zwei Tatsachen. Wir haben im Berberischen *azzäl* für Eisen (Stumme, ZA 27. 126) und wir haben im Hebräischen ein anderes Metall (mit Namen: *Bēdil* (Ez. 22.18; Nu. 31.22), das wir meist mit Zinn übersetzen, jedoch wird Jes. 1.25 auch mit Blei erklärt = *ʿOfereṭ*. Die Ableitung von der Wz. *BDL* = ausscheiden (*Bēdil* = Schlacke?) ist nicht sicher. Da nun Metalle glänzen, leuchten, und ihre Namen Lichtnamen sind, so könnte *Bēdil*, wie auch die Dehnform *Barzel*, assyr. *Parzillu*, wohl mit *Ṣahol* = leuchten, oder dem lat. *Stella* = Stern, vor allem mit hebr. *ʿAṣol* = strahlen, ausstrahlen, verwandt sein. Denn *Aṣilut* = Ausstrahlung ist mehr wie Absonderung, und ebenso ist *Mazzal* = Stern, Glück, keineswegs identisch mit arab. *Manzil* = Wohnung, und wir müssen ein Verbum *Nazol* = strahlen als NF zu *Aṣol* = strahlen ansetzen. Auch das griech. *metallon* = Grube, Bergwerk, von dem unser Metall stammt, ist vielleicht nach dem dort zu Tage geförderten Metall genannt, nicht umgekehrt. (Jedoch besteht die Hypothese, das griech. *metallon* wäre sem. Lehnwort = *Mēṣulla* = Tiefe, deutsch biliteral: Stollen). Eine weitere Möglichkeit der Deutung lässt die Annahme einer Verwandtschaft mit *Mēṭil* (Hi. 40.18) = geschmiedeter Stab, zu. Das j-a. *Maṭla* ist Stange. Das arab. *Maṭṭala* bed. = Eisen oder and. Metall schlagen, bis es im Feuer längliche Form erhält, stanzen, breit und dünn schlagen. Vielleicht liegt also der arab. Stamm *Ṭul* = lang vor? In diesem Falle wären *Bēdil* und die davon ausgehende Dehnform *Barzel* Worte in der Bed. Stange, Langstab. Hat Basalt mit *Barzel* zu tun? Dr. Rudolf Kleinpaul: *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*, S. 31, bemerkt zu Basalt: bei Plinius: *Basaltes*. Eine der am längsten bekannten Gesteine, dessen Name sich bis auf die Gegenwart erhalten hat. Die alten Ägypter, die es zu Statuen und Gefässen verarbeiteten, bezogen

es aus Aethiopien, d. h. aus Nubien und Abessinien, allwo es seiner Härte und Schwärze wegen den Namen *Basal*, d. h. Eisen, führte. Basalt ist eine Ableitung von diesem äthiopischen *Basal* und so viel wie Eisenstein. Verschiedene Anzeichen machen es wahrscheinlich, dass auch Eisen, *iron*, eigentlich alte NF von *Horn cornu* ist, also Strahl, Horn, bedeutet, demnach nach seiner Form genannt ist, nicht nach seinem Material. Darauf lassen schliessen altkorn. *hoern* = Eisen, schwed. *järn*, dän. *jern*, wo der K-Laut zu einem j erweicht ist. Handelt es sich nun bei berb. *azzäl*, hebr. *Bēdil*, ursprünglich um ein Gerät, und nicht um ein Metall — der alte Name, der etwa Holzgeräten eigen war, wurde dann in der Eisenzeit auf die entsprechenden Eisengeräte übertragen —, dann kommen wir auf die Wurzel, von der lat. *stilus* = Pfahl, Stengel, Griffel deutsch Stiel, herkommen. Verwandt ist auch gr. *steleos* = Stiel. Das wären bilaterale Formen, zu denen im Sem. dann labiale Anlaute dazuwuchsen, und in unserem Falle das zur Dehnung dienende Reš. Ich gebe zu, dass bei der Fülle von Hypothesen keine so schlagkräftig ist, dass wir nun mit Bestimmtheit sagen können, *Barzel* entspreche sicher einem anderen uns bekannten Worte, jedoch scheint mir, dass der Stamm *Ṭul* = lang, im Idg. vertreten durch Seil, Säule, Stele, Stiel, auch = lang bedeutet. Mit Gaumenlaut im Einsatz haben wir den gl. St. in *Gadol* = gross, *Godel* = Grösse, *Kotel* = Mauer, d. h. gross, hoch etc. Mit diesen Formen würde ich auch verbinden:

7) *Ḳarsol* = Knöchel (II S. 22.37; Ps. 18.37). Aram. *Ḳarsulla*. Syr. *Ḳurṣēla*. BJ (T. S.) verweist auf *Ḳarzel* = zusammenballen, *agglomerer*, *to conglomerate*, und fügt vorsichtig hinzu: vielleicht zu *Ḳeres* = Spange (*Ḳaros* I). Diese Etymologisierung finden wir noch bei König, bei Steinberg, aber diese Ableitung überzeugt nicht. Man kann beim besten Willen keinen Sinn darin erblicken. Dagegen *Ḳarzel* = zusammenballen: jawohl! Denn Ballen ist Quantitätsbegriff, und wenn wir dann das arab. *Kutla* = Haufen, Fleischstück, Block, uns ansehen, und finden, dass *Kattala* = aufhäufen bedeutet, dann dürfen wir vermuten, dass *Ḳarzel* = zusammenballen damit zusammenhängt, dass also das Reš eine Erweiterung zur ursprünglichen Wurzel *Kattala* darstellt. *Kotlé Hazir* (Hullin 17.1) ist Schinken, also dickes Fleischstück. *Ḳarsol* = Knöchel, ist eine Verdickung am Fusse, eine Ballung. Der sachliche Zusammenhang ist also klar. Der Wechsel zwischen Kaf und Ḳuf ist irrelevant, denn auch *Ḳotlé* wird vom 'Arukḥ mit Ḳuf geschrieben.

8) *Ḥermēš* = Sichel (Dt. 16.9; 23.26). Ges-B. wie BJ, verweisen auf das arab. *Harmus* = Messer, und in der Tat ist das ein

logischer Vergleich während eine andere von BJ gebrachte Vermutung (die ihm selbst unwahrscheinlich dünkt), die Ableitung von *Ḥerem* bei Annahme eines suffigierten Š, nicht recht überzeugt, BJ folgt hier König, der diese Deutung bringt. Ges-B. jedoch macht auf das arab. *Ḥamasa*, urspr. = abschneiden, aufmerksam, hält also das Reš für einen Dehnlaut. Zwar finde ich in meinem arab. Wörterbuch diese Deutung nicht, jedoch bringt Ges-B. andere Worte, die das Vorhandensein einer solchen Wurzel im Sem. bezeugen: assyr. *emêsu* = zerschlagen, abschlagen, und vor allem das hebr. *Ḥamas* = Gewalttat. In Gn. 49.5–6 ist von *Kēlē Ḥamas* die Rede. Ist *Hermeš* nicht ein *Kēli Ḥamas*, ein Instrument der Gewalttat? BJ unterscheidet zwischen diesem *Ḥamos I* und *Ḥamos II*, das er in Jer. 13.22 sieht und mit = zerkratzen wiedergibt. Ges-B. hat diese Unterscheidung nicht. Hat BJ mit dieser Unterscheidung recht, dann müssen wir *Hermeš* zu *Ḥamos II* stellen. Die idg. Parallele zu den Wurzeln *Ḥamasa* = abschneiden, *Ḥamos* = zerkratzen, finden wir in den biliteralen Formen lat. *messis* = Ernte, *messor* = Schnitter, *meto* = mähen, abhauen, im deutschen Metzeln und Gemetzel, in Steinmetz, Messer etc. Die Erklärungen Kluge-Goetzes zu all diesen Worten haben wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Da soll Metz von Steinmetz vom deutschen: machen kommen, metzeln = niederhauen soll auf hebr. *Mikhla* = Hürde, Umzäunung zurückgehen (KI-G. schreibt: *Makhela*) über lat. *macellum* = Fleischmarkt, Messer gar wird mit *maz* = Speise verbunden (in Mastdarm, Mettwurst, Mus findet sich diese Deutung = Speise), jedoch die einfache Deutung, dass Messer mit *meto* = mähen zusammenhängt, also = abschneiden bedeutet, das wird nicht gesehen. *Hermeš* im Hebräischen, wie *Harmuz* im Arabischen, sind = Messer, die durch Präfixe und Dehnung dann ihre erweiterte Gestalt annahmen.

9) Damascus, hebr. Dammeseḵ, wird in I Ch. 18.5; II Ch. 16.2 etc. auch unter der NF: *Darmeseḵ* erwähnt. König erklärt: mit sekundärer Ersetzung der Doppelkonsonanz des älteren *Dammeseḵ* durch die Liquida r. Die *Encycl. Mikra'it*, II, S. 673, bringt die Meinung einiger Forscher, es handle sich um keinen semitischen Namen, und *Darmeseḵ* wäre die ursprüngliche Form. Demgegenüber vertritt BJ, XIII (14.), S. 6277, die Auffassung, das Reš in *Darmeseḵ* diene zur Erweiterung. Mit der Deutung des Namens *Dammeseḵ* befasst sich Dr. Josef Ebhen Odem in: *Jalḳuṭ Ḳašar*, I, S. 46 und schon vorher in: *Lešon Limudim*, I, S. 147 unten. E. O. kommt auf Grund des Arabischen zur Deutung: Faktotum, behend, eifrig. Trägt nun die Stadt Damas-

kus einen Personennamen wie so viele Städte auf der Welt (Charlottenburg, Friedrichshafen, Karlstadt, Williamsburg etc.), d. h. heisst die Stadt nach Elieser, dem treuen Diener Abrahams, der ja den Beinamen *D a m e s e k* führte, oder nach einem Manne gleichen Namens lange Zeit vor diesem *E l i e s e r D a m e s e k*?

10) Die aramäische Form des hebr. Wortes *G o m e d* = Längengrass, eine Spanne, Elle (Ri. 3.16) lautet *G a r m i d a*, *G o r m i d a* (Ges-B. zu *G o m e d*, sowie: J. Fürst: *Lehrgebäude der aram. Idiome*, S. 60). Entkleiden wir *G o m e d* seines Anlautes, kommen wir auf die bilaterale Wurzel: *Mass*, *modus*, lat. *m o d i u s* = Scheffel, hebr. *M i d d a* = *Mass*. Dass es sich hier um eine gemeinsame sem-idg. Wz. handelt, ist Annahme zahlreicher Forscher. (Friedrich Delitzsch: *Studien über Indogerm-Sem. Wurzelverwandtschaft*, S. 47-48, Rudolf von Raumer: *Ges. Sprachw. Schriften*, S. 526, Fortsetzung... S. 18, Herm. Möller: *Vergl. indogerm-sem. Wörterbuch*, S. 157, Dr. Arnold Wadler: *Das Rätsel der Indogermanen*, S. 185 oben, etc.). Nun könnte man einwenden, woher können wir wissen, dass *G o m e d* = *Mass* bedeutet? Weil das Verbum *G a m o d* sich in der Bed. = messen, *mesurer*, *to measure*, in Tana' d' e b h e Elijahu, 31, findet, und ebenso hat das aram. *G e m a d* und das arab. *D j a m a d a* diese Bedeutung. Auch eine Form mit schwächerem laryngalem Anlaut: *'A m o d* hat die Bed. = messen, abschätzen, *supposer*, *estimer*, *estimate* (Pé'a 5.1, Giṭṭin 7.3 etc.), *'O m e d* und *'U m d a n* bed. = Mutmassung, Abschätzung etc.

11) Das neuhebr. *K u r s a* = Sessel findet sich schon im aram. Teil des AT (Dan. 5.20, 7.9) in der Form: *K o r s é*, später im Talmud (Hullin 59.2), im j-a. *K u r s e j a*, im arab. *K u r s i* etc. Die hebr. Form ist *K i s s é* (Hi. 26.9; I K. 10.19 etc.) und auch das Assy. hat *K u s s ū* neben *k u r s ū*. Auch J. Fürst: *Lehrgebäude der aram. Idiome*, S. 60, glaubt, dass das eingeschobene *r* ein Bildungskonsonant ist. Bedenken wären hier am Platze, denn das Samekh in *K i s s é* enthält einen geschärften Laut, der darauf schliessen lässt, dass ein Laut zum Ausfall kam. Nun fehlt ein Stamm *K a r o s* = sitzen, und auch *Ḳ a r o s* (Jes. 46.1) = sich biegen, krümmen, lässt sich nicht in: sitzen, sich setzen, umdeuten. Entweder ist also nicht ein *r* zum Ausfall gelangt, sondern ein *'Ajin*, denn das arab. *Ḳ a ' a d a* bedeutet: sitzen, oder es gab eine in Vergessenheit geratene NF von *Ḳ a ' a d a*, vielleicht eine Form mit *Ġajin* statt mit *'Ajin*. Da jedoch *Ḳ a ' a d a* ein schwacher Stamm ist, wäre der bilaterale Stamm ein *Ḳ* und ein *D*. Wir könnten an *Ḳ a d o d* denken

=sich auf die Knie niederwerfen (Ex. 34.8; I S. 24.9 etc.), das wäre = ein nach Unten gehen. Ges-B. verbindet dieses Verbum in der Tat mit *Ḳa'ada* = sich setzen. Sodann könnten hebr. *Naḥot* = herabsteigen (Hi. 21.13), aram. *Nəḥat*, mit diesem Stamm verwandt sein. Ges-B. verweist hier auf arab. *Ḥatta* = niederwerfen. Die Wurzel liegt meiner Ansicht nach auch in '*Akkuz* vor — BJ punktiert: '*Akhuz* —, (B^echorot 40.1) = Hintern, Sitzfläche. Hier der gl. St. mit Laryngalanlaut. Selbst wenn also *Kissé* aus *Kursé* oder *Kirsé* gekürzt sein sollte — was uns sagt, dass vom Standpunkt der historischen Grammatik das Reš kein Dehnlaut ist, sondern dass der Fall umgekehrt liegt — vom Standpunkt einer weitergehenden etymologischen Forschung ist das Reš doch ein Dehnlaut, denn die bilaterale Form der Wurzel lautete etwa *Ḥatta* und bestand aus Ḥ und T oder K und D.

12) *Parnés* = ernähren wird von BJ (T. S.), X, S. 5193 und XIII (14.), S. 6277, auf P N S als Wurzel zurückgeführt, wobei T. S. gegen Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I, 561, der *Parnes* auf *Paros* I zurückführen wollte, polemisiert. T. S. denkt an das lat *pensum*, an *penso*, *pensito* = abwägen, bezahlen, zumesen. Vielleicht sollten wir auch an das allbekannte *pensio* = Zahlung, Pension, denken. *Parnés* = für den Lebensunterhalt sorgen würde also bedeuten = jem. Pension zahlen, *Parnasa* wäre demnach Pension. Da ich keine bessere Deutung habe, akzeptiere ich diese Deutung, obwohl damit diese Frage nicht restlos geklärt ist. Warum braucht das Hebräische den Akkusativ statt des zu erwartenden Dativs?

13) '*Argel* = walzen, '*Irgul* = Walzerei, ist in das Modernhebräische aus dem Aramäischen entlehnt. BJ, sowie Gur, bringen diese Worte noch nicht, jedoch bringt sie Eben Šošān im *Millon Ḥadaš*, 4. Band, 1230. '*Argel* ist dissimilierte Form zu hebr. '*Aggel* = rollen. Siehe hierzu Ges-B. zu '*GL*, T. S. in den Bemerkungen zu *Parnés*, BJ, X, 5193, E. Š. zu '*Argel*. Die sem-idg. Wurzel hierzu ist ursprünglich bilateral, man denke an *Gulla* = Knauf, im Modernhebr. = Murmel, an das slaw. *kolo* = Rad, das serb. *kola* = Wagen, das hebr. *Galgāl* = Rad, '*Agala* = Wagen, das deutsche Kohl, seiner runden Form wegen so genannt, Kugel selbst aus md. *kule*, an Kaul in den Zusammensetzungen *Kaulbarsch*, *Kaulkopf*, *Kaulquappe* etc., an das deutsche *Kullern* = rollen. Dagegen wird Hügel von *hoch mit der Verkleinerungsendung *el* erklärt. Siehe zur Wurzel *gul* Herm. Möller: *Vergl. idg-sem. Wörterbuch*, S. 132.

14) *Parnék* leitet BJ (T. S.) von *Pannek* = verzärteln ab. Die

dissimilierte Form findet sich in zwei Midrašim, BJ, X, 5196 — P a n - n e k schon im AT (Pr. 29.21). BJ übersetzt: verzärteln, d o r l o t e r, g â t e r, t o p a m p e r. P a n n e k ist eine Form mit labialem Anlaut, hat jedoch genau die Bedeutung wie 'A n n e g mit laryngalem Anlaut (Jer. 6.2 etc.), woraus sich als bilateraler Stamm eine Form wie N o ^a h angenehm ergibt. Wer verzärtelt, verweichlicht, will es jem. anderen angenehm machen. Die idg. Parallele hierzu ist: genug, e n o u g h, Vergnügen. In zwei Fällen haben wir hier Gutturalanlaut, in einem (e n o u g h) Laryngalanlaut wie in 'O n e g = Vergnügen.

15) 'A r a f e l = Nebel (Ex. 29.21; Dt. 4.11) wird von Ges-B. zu 'A r o f I gestellt, ein Verbum, das Träufeln bedeutet. Gegen diese Methode, das Lamed einfach unter den Tisch fallen zu lassen, oder es als Wurzeldeterminante zu erklären, machte ich geltend ("Das Lamed als Schlussbuchstabe im hebräischen Wort," Z A W, 69. Band, 1957 — Neue Folge, Band 28), dass auch in den idg. Sprachen Nebel, n i f l, ags. n i f o l = dunkel, lat. n e b u l a, ein l im Stamme besitzt, und auch dort haben die Etymologen versucht, das l als Endung zu erklären von *e n e b h = feucht, obwohl in allen Fällen das l nachweisbar ist. Ich kam daher zum Ergebnis, dass das hebr. 'O f e l = Dunkelheit, 'A f e l a = Finsternis, die diesen idg. Formen entsprechende sem. Form der gl. Wurzel sei, und daraus resultierte, dass das Reš in 'a r ā f e l ein Dehnlaut sein müsse. BJ macht sich die vom Ges-B. gebrachte Deutung ebenfalls zu eigen, denn unter 'A r o f = träufeln (bei BJ unter II) bringt er die Ableitung 'a r a f e l. In Wirklichkeit kommen Nebel und 'A r a f e l von einer Wurzel, die unklar, nicht sichtbar, trübe, wirr, bedeutet, also verwandt mit lat. b e l l u m = Wirre, hebr. B a l b e l = wirren, B i l b u l = Wirrnis, engl. f o o l = Tor, eigentlich = der Wirre, auch hebr. 'E w i l = Narr ist gleicher Herkunft wie etwa M ^e b h u l b a l = verwirrt, denn ob mit Alef prostheticum oder in reduplizierter Form, hier liegt die gl. Wz. vor.

Nicht identisch mit 'a r a f e l = Nebel ist das aram. 'U r f i l a (Ta^anit 4.1 oberste Zeile) — trotz der Lautähnlichkeit, doch 'U r f i l a ist = leichter Regen, und vielleicht hat das unbewusst den Erklärern vorgeschwebt, als sie 'a r a f e l irrtümlich von 'A r o f I = träufeln ableiteten. Jedoch ist auch das Reš in 'U r f i l a Dehnlaut, das Lamed gehört zum Stamm. Triliterale Formen sind: arab. W a b i l = Regenguss, hebr. J a b h a l (Jes. 30.25) = Wasserstrom, J u b h a l (Jer. 17.8) = Kanal, mit NF auf 'Alef: 'U b h a l (Dn. 8.2, 3, 6) = Strom, Fluss. Aus diesem 'U b h a l = Gewässer erklärt sich unser 'U r f i l a leicht — der Wechsel der Laryngale ist häufig, und leichter Regen ist gewiss Wasserbe-

zeichnung. Der märkische Fluss Havel hat gl. Urbedeutung = Wasser. Bilit. Form: *Welle!*

16) *Arnebheth* = Hase (Lv. 11.6 etc.), arab. *'Arnab*, ist ein gemeinsemitisches Wort. Barth vertritt in: *Nominalbildung*, S. 222, die Auffassung, die assyr. Form: *annabu* wäre durch Assimilation des *r* entstanden. Dem gegenüber sah Delitzsch: *Prolegomena*, 114, völlig richtig, dass das *r* eine Einschaltung darstelle. Nur konstruierte er eine nicht nachweisbare Bedeutung für *'NB* = springen, was Nöldeke zu einer Ablehnung von Delitzschs Deutung veranlasste. Delitzsch hatte jedoch in seiner morphologischen Deutung Recht, nur irrte er in der Etymologie. Dabei ist der Stamm so bekannt: *'Arnebheth* ist *Gannebheth* = Diebin. Denn der Hase ist ein Felddieb, er knabbert am Kohl. Dies Abknabbern heisst im Hebräischen: *Ḳannebh* (Kelim 16.2-4), jedoch wählte ich die Uebersetzung = abknabbern aus rein etymologischen Uebersetzungen. Die genaue Uebersetzung gibt BJ: *zurechtstutzen, façonner, retrousser, to fashion, shape*. Das was man abknipst, abschnipselt vom Kraute, die welken Stellen, heissen *Ḳenibha* oder *Ḳenobhet*. Das heisst: der Stamm knapp im Deutschen mit knapsen, knipsen, knabbern, die dazu gehörigen Satemformen: schnuppe in Sternschnuppe, Schnipsel, abschnipseln, gehören zum gleichen idg-sem. Stamme wie *Ganobh* = stehlen und *Ḳannebh* = welke Stellen vom Kraute abmachen. Die biliterale Form haben wir im engl. *to kidnap* = Kinder stehlen von einem nicht mehr üblichen *nap* = stehlen. Das deutsche: neppen = jemanden hochnehmen, wird von Kl-G. mit: betrügen erklärt, jedoch sehen wir, dass die Deutung sekundär ist. Neppen ist = abnehmen, jem. sein Geld abnehmen (für wenig oder geringe Ware).

17) Das aram. *'Armela* = Witwer fand in der Hitpa'el-Form: *hit'armel* = verwitwen (J^ebhamot 13.4) auch Eingang ins Hebräische, ebenso *'Armeltut* = Witwenschaft (J^eruš. N^edarim 6 39.2 etc.). Im Arab. bed. = *'Armal* und *Murmil* auch = hilflos, dürftig. Also ein Erdbegriff. Barth setzt in: *Nominalbildung*, S. 222, einen Stamm *RML* an. Da im Arabischen nun *Rammala*, *Ar mala*, *Tarammala* = verwitwen bedeutet, *Raml* jedoch = Sand, so können wir in der Tat annehmen, dass die Urbedeutung = niedrig, unten liegend, verachtet, unglücklich bedeutet. Wir haben nun auch im Hebr. *'Amel* = matt, schwachtend (Ez. 16.30), *'Umlal* = unglücklich (Ps. 6.3), im Assyr. *'ummulu* = betrübt, eine NF von *'Umlal*: *'amelel* = schwach, ohnmächtig (Neh. 3.34) etc. Ges-B. setzt einen Stamm an: *Malla* = gebeugt s., sich hinschleppen, hebr. *Malol I* = verwelken (Ps. 37.2 etc.). Wir können

uns also 'A r m e l a als Dehnform erklären aus 'A m m e l a; die assyr. Form ist ja ganz ähnlich. Das Reš unter Ausfall des anlautenden Alif im Arab. können wir uns als Denominativform erklären, jedoch ist das R ein Laryngallaut, und viele Worte mit Reš im ersten Stammbuchstaben stehen neben Formen mit anderem Anlaut. Es würde den Rahmen dieser Arbeit sprengen, wollte ich hier das Reš als Pe Hap-po'al behandeln. Es verdient auch hier vermerkt zu werden, dass der idg. Stamm * m o l o = klein, aslaw. m a l u, lat. m a l u s = schlecht, der gleiche ist wie unser sem. M a l l a. Im deutschen Schmal = klein, gering, etc., in schmälern = knapp halten, verkleinern, haben wir diesen idg-sem. Stamm mit s-Präfigierung.

18) Ḥ a r ṣ o b h = Band (Jes. 58.6) findet sich auch in Ps. 73.4, wo die Bedeutung anscheinend eine andere ist. Ges-B. gibt wieder: Qualen, t o r m e n t a, und ebenso BJ. Da die Bedeutung dieses Wortes an beiden Stellen also auseinandergeht, gilt Ḥ. als nicht sicher geklärt. Ges-B., wie BJ, verweisen auf das arab. Ḥ a ḍ r a b a Ḥ a ḍ r a m a = einen Strick fest anziehen. Ausserdem bed. Ḥ a ḍ r a m a = arabisch schlecht aussprechen. Jedoch setzt diese These von vorn herein Metathesis voraus. Vielleicht ist das also eine Verlegenheitsdeutung, da man keine entsprechende Form für Ḥ. in den anderen sem. Sprachen fand. Nun hat das Arabische ein Wort 'A ṣ a b = Nerv, Sehne, ein Wort, das sich auch im Hebräischen einbürgerte. Ibn 'Ezra brachte das Wort 'A ṣ a b h (S. Ḥ a ' a ṣ a m i m, 22) zum ersten Male, und vor allem erklärt er Hiob 10.8 nach dem Arab. „sie schufen die Glieder meines Körpers.“ Siehe hierzu (und zu ähnlichen Erklärungen David Kimchis und Parchons) Bacher: I b n E s r a a l s G r a m m., S. 169/170. Das arab. 'U ṣ b a bed. = Schar, Gruppe, Verbindung. Das von I. E. erwähnte 'A ṣ ṣ e b h wird von BJ übersetzt: bilden, formen. Lässt sich diese Bedeutung vereinen mit einer Bed.: Band, Verbindung? S i b h ist Bast (Tosefta, J^erušalmi etc.), Ṣ i b h ist Bastfaser, tille, fibre (Ḥullin 9.4), und schliesslich hat Midraš Rabba Wajikra 17 ein Verbum: Ṣ a j j e b h = binden (mit Bast). Auf Grund all dessen würde ich annehmen, dass Ḥ a r ṣ o b h = Band eine R-Dehnform zu einer nicht nachweisbaren NF von 'A ṣ a b = Nerv, Sehne, eigentlich Band, etwa Ḥ a ṣ o b h oder Ḥ a ṣ a b h darstellt. Das zweite Ḥ a r ṣ u b b o t, das sich in Ps. 73.4, findet, ist nun ebenfalls entstanden als Dehnform zu 'E s e b h = Schmerz, d. h. es handelt sich um zwei unverwandte Stämme, denn Band ist Lichtbegriff; Schmerz und Tortur ist Erdbegriff. Jedoch sind beide Worte der gleichen Lautentwicklung unterworfen, wobei volksetymologisches Empfinden, das beide gleichlautenden, jedoch in der Bedeutung differierenden Worte zusammenwarf, mitgewirkt haben mag.

19) 'A r b e l ist ein aus dem Aramäischen ins Modernhebräische übernommenes Wort in der Bed. = mischen von Materialien, besonders von Zement, Sand, Kies mit Wasser. 'A r b a l ist eine Mischmaschine vom aram. 'A r b ʿ l a = Sieb. BJ bringt den Stamm nicht, weil er diesen St. als aramäisch ansah. Sogar M ʿ ʿ a r b o l e t = Strudel, das im Modernhebräischen üblich ist, wird nicht verzeichnet. Die aram. Form dieses Wortes findet sich im Targum zu Hiob 38.16 für N i b h k h é J a m = Quellen des Meeres. Nun ist das Vermischen von Materialien mit Wasser ein Kneten, Verkneten des feuchten Stoffes zu einer Masse. Die Hand knetet, ballt Klumpen zusammen. Kein Zweifel, dass wir hier also eine dissimilierte Form von G a b h o l = kneten, G a b b e l = kneten vor uns haben. Siehe Šabbat 24.3, Tosefta Šabbat 13.14, und die vielen Beispiele, die BJ, II, 682 bringt. Im Arab. und Aramäischen hat dieser Stamm die gl. Bed. Wir könnten nun erwarten, dass eine Form mit Reš als Dehnlaut G a r b e l lautet, und nicht 'A r b e l, aber beide Laute sind nahe verwandt und wechseln oft. Jedoch findet sich in der Tat auch K a r b e l für =sieben (jedoch nicht für =kneten, mischen) in J ʿ lammdēnu (n. d. 'Arukh) Gn. 22.21. BJ erklärt das Lamed als Endung und das Wort abgeleitet von K ʿ b h a r a = Sieb, eine These, die zugleich eine Metathesis miteinschliesst. Auch Ges-B. bringt unter K ʿ b h a r a = Sieb diese unwahrscheinliche Erklärung. Bedeutungsmässig jedoch ist auch im Arab. Ġ a r b a l = Sieb (und nicht Mischmaschine). Ueber diese Schwierigkeit bin ich noch nicht weggekommen. Als biliteraler Stamm von G a b h o l, G a b b e l = kneten, erscheint mir = ballen, eine Masse in der Hand rund machen. Wir sagen etwa: er ballte Schnee in der Hand zusammen. Das drückt die Tätigkeit des Knetens aus. Das aram. R ʿ b h a l (Baba M ʿ š i ʿ a 26.2) bed. = schütteln, mischen. Das Passivum 'I r b a l = geschüttelt werden (Ḥullin 49.1) ist = hit ʿ a r b e l. Also liegt der Stamm B-L vor, von dem wir im Hebräischen B a l o l = mischen, verwirren (Ex. 29.2, Gn. 11.7), und redupliziert: B a b e l = verwirren (B ʿ k h o r o t 38.2) haben. Auch K a r b e l = sieben ist ein Durcheinanderwerfen von Getreidekörnern, kleinen Steinen odgl. Damit glaube ich 'A r b e l und K a r b e l auf einen Nenner gebracht zu haben — mit G a b h o l, G a b b e l = kneten, ballen, liegt also kein Zusammenhang vor.

20) K a r b o l e t = Hahnenkamm (Šabbat 110b). BJ punktiert K a r b e l e t. Das Wort kommt in gl. Bed. im Aramäischen vor. Auch hier würde ich zur Deutung zunächst ein idg. Wort wählen: Giebel, der höchste Punkt eines Hauses. Auch das griech. k e p h a l é = Kopf bedeutet gewiss: oben. Anord. ist g a f l = Spitze einer Insel. Dr. Arnold Wadler fügt im Gegensatz zu Kl-G. auch Gipfel hinzu (Germ. Urzeit, S. 47 u. 142) und verweist vor allem auf das

arab. *Gebel Djebel* = Berg, ja, unter Bezugnahme auf KL-G. der als Grundbedeutung des germ. Wortes = äusserstes Ende festlegt, denkt Wadler auch an hebr. *G^eb h u l* = Grenze.

Jedoch hier ist Vorsicht am Platze. *G^eb h u l* mag mit *H e b h e l* = Landstrich (Šefanja 2.5, 6) verwandt sein, mit *Z^eb h u l* = Wohnung (Satemform zu *G^eb h u l*) in Hab. 3.11 u. I K. 8.13, wohl auch mit dem idg. (engl.) *d w e l l* = wohnen — all diese Worte führen auf den bilateralen Stamm: weilen zurück, mit lat. *villa* = Landhaus, franz. *ville* = Stadt, engl. *village* = Dorf etc. — wie jedoch wollen wir den Zusammenhang zwischen arab. *Gebel Djebel* = Berg und hebr. *G^eb h u l* deuten? BJ erklärt, die Berge wären eine natürliche Grenze (BJ, II, 674). Das ist eine sehr künstliche Deutung. Auch das Meer oder Flüsse oder künstliche politische Grenzen teilen ja Volk von Volk, Staat von Staat. Zurück zu *Karbolet* = Hahnenkamm. Dissimilierung aus *Gebel* = Berg, bzw. einer NF, die mit Kaf begann, das ist möglich. Hebräische Nebenformen zu *Gebel* = Berg scheinen mir zu sein: '*Ofel* = Hügel (II K. 5.24, Neh. 3.26 etc.). Auch der Bergname '*Ebal* (Dt. 11.29, 27.4) ist = '*Ofel*, *Gebel*, Gipfel, Giebel. Die Septuaginta hat für '*Ebal*: *Gaibal*, die Vulgata: *Hebal*. Ebenso nennt die Septuaginta das in Gn. 10.28 genannte Volk '*Obhal*: *Gaibal*. *Karbolet* ist also = oben, Gipfel. Das griech. *krobylos*, Haarnetz wird von Mieses: E. d. *Juden h.*, 114 zu K. gestellt.

21) *Karpas* = feines, weisses baumwollenes und leinenes Zeug (Est. 1.6) heisst auch im Griech. *karpasos*. Das Wort findet sich auch im Pers. Wir tappen jedoch im Dunkeln, ob dies Wort (und viele andere mit ihm) aus dem Sem. ins Griech. gelangt ist (H. Lewy: *Die semit. Fremdwörter im Griechischen*) oder ob umgekehrt Scheftelowitz (*Arisches im Alten Testament*) recht hat, oder ob beide zum Teil recht haben. Dr. A. Wadler schreibt (*Der Turm von Babel*, S. 140): „Ein so gründlicher Kenner des Griechischen wie A. Meillet (vorher wurde dessen Schrift: *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, Paris 1921, erwähnt) behauptet in der erwähnten Studie, die Zahl der phönikischen, also der semitischen Fremdworte in der Sprache von Hellas erreiche noch kein Dutzend. H. Lewy veröffentlichte 1895 eine Studie (oben erwähnt), worin er Hunderte solcher „Fremdwörter“ anführt. Diese Studie hat deutsche Semitisten offensichtlich überzeugt; denn in dem klassischen Hebräischen Wörterbuch von Gesenius sind ihre Ergebnisse vielfach erwähnt. Wer hat nun recht, Meillet oder Lewy? Oder keiner von beiden?“ Ich habe diese Worte Wadlers so ausführlich gebracht, weil es m. M. n. für die Etymologisierung des Wortes

K a r p a s, pers. k a r b a s, griech. k a r p a s o s odgl. nicht entscheidend ist, ob das Wort sem. oder idg. Ursprunges ist. Denn ich sehe hier eine gemeinsame sem-idg. Wurzel: weiss, hebr. sichtbar in B e š a = Ei (=weiss), in B u š (Ez. 27.16), griech. b y s s o s, assyr. b û š u. BJ erklärt = sehr dünnes, weisses Leinen. Ges-B. erklärt das Wort aus ind. p i č u = Baumwolle. Mit Anlaut haben wir die Wurzel weiss — B e š a in hebr. 'A b h a š = Zink, aram. 'A b h š a. BJ erklärt ausdrücklich, das Metall hätte seinen Namen nach seiner Farbe. Gesetzt nun den Fall, K a r p a s käme aus dem Sanskrit (k a r f a s a = Baumwolle), auch dann erklärt sich der Name als Dehnform zu p i č u. Jedoch war Sanskrit eine Sprache unter vielen, nicht die Ursprache. Das Wort kann sowohl aus dem Arischen ins Semitische gewandert sein, wie umgekehrt, es kann auch ein gemeinsames Wort beider Sprachfamilien sein. So haben wir z. B. von der gl. Wurzel, die weiss bedeutet, im Hebr. P a z = reines Gold (Ps. 21.4), im j-a. P i z z a gediegenes Gold, arab. F i d d a = Silber und im Ital. b e z z o — Geld, im Deutschen: Batzen. Mit Kehlanlaut kommt K a b b e s = waschen (Gn. 40.11, II S. 19.25) vom Stamme weiss, denn waschen ist reinigen, sauber machen, weiss machen. K a r p a s liesse sich also direkt als Dehnform zu K a b b e s deuten, als Waschstoff, Weisslinnen.

22) K a r m e l = Baumgarten (Jes. 10.18, Jer. 48.33 etc.), Fruchtgartenland, ist ausserdem Name des Gebirges bei Haifa, ferner Name einer Speise (Lv. 23.14; II K. 4.24). BJ übersetzt das Wort in letzterer Bed. mit =frische Körner. Lassen sich beide Namen auf einen Nenner bringen? Die Ableitung von K e r e m = Weinberg, die Nöldeke vorschlug, hat den Nachteil, dass sich das Lamed nicht deuten lässt. Das Hebräische kennt kein Lamed als Suffix, und wenn Wadler den Moskauer K r e m l von Kerem deutet, d. h. von einer Wurzel R u m = Anhöhe, von der auch R o m a herkommt, so mag das für das Russische zutreffen, fürs Hebräische ist dieser Weg nicht gangbar, s. hierzu meinen Aufsatz: „Das Lamed am Wortende,“ Z A W, 69. Jahrgang. Ich würde daher vorschlagen, das Reš als zur Dissimilierung dienenden Dehnlaut anzusehen. Ich würde also eine Wurzel K M L konstruieren. Das arab. K a m a l a T a k k a m a l a etc. bed. = fertig sein, beendet sein. Eine Frucht die fertig ist, nennt man reif. Und G a m o l = reifen (Jes. 18.5) ist sicher NF zum arab. K a m a l a, sowohl Ges-B., wie BJ verweisen auf die Bedeutungsverwandtschaft beider Verben. Im einen Fall ist also von Körnern die Rede, die soweit reif sind, dass sie Menschen zur Speise dienen, im anderen von Pflanzungen, die sich im Stadium guten und reichen Ertrages befinden. G a m u l = gereift wird zu G a r m u l K a r m u l, und

wird dann verkürzt zu *Karmel*. Das lat. *cumulo* = anhäufen hat ebenfalls die Bed. = zur vollen Höhe bringen, vollständig oder vollkommen machen — also im Einklang zu hebr. *Gamol* und zu arab. *Kamala*. Die biliterale Form dieser sem-idg. Wurzel haben wir in *Malé* = voll, im lat. *mille* = Tausend = volle, runde Anzahl, in *malum* = Apfel, d. h. Ball, Bolle, im hebr. *Mallē* = füllen, erfüllen etc. Die Versuchung war gross, *Karmel* von *Gamal* = Anhäufung, Buckel, davon *Gamal*, Kameel, zu erklären, wozu das lat. *cumulo* gut gepasst hätte. Da Fruchtgarten jedoch nicht notwendig auf einem Hügel gelegen sein muss, — in II Ch. 26.10 steht *Karmel* im Gegensatz zum *Har*, Berg — entschloss ich mich für die erste Deutung = ertragreicher, vollkommener Garten.

23) *Totaḥ* (Hi. 41.21), im heutigen Hebräisch = Kanone, war Keule, Knüttel, vielleicht Wurfspeer. Auf jeden Fall war es eine Waffe. Die assyr. Form ist *tartaḥu* = Keule, gewiss aus *Totaḥ* entstanden. Das können wir schliessen aus dem arab. *Wataḥa* = mit einem Knüttel schlagen. Die assyr. Form ist also später entstanden, Dehnform. Der biliterale Stamm ist uns aus dem Idg. bekannt: Stich stechen Säge Sichel. Das Hebräische hat *Takh* = Nadelstich (Jerušalmi M^gilla 73.1), ferner *Sikka* = Nadel, *Sikh* in gl. Bed. (Jeruš. Ta'anit 65.2), vor allem hat das Hebräische eine Reihe von dreibuchstabigen Verben, die alle auf den Begriff stechen zurückgehen: *Azzeḳ* = umstechen, aufhacken (Jes. 5.2), *Natteḳ* = abschneiden, durchstechen (Ri. 20.32, Ri. 16.9 etc.), *Natte^aḥ* = zerlegen, zerschneiden, operieren (Ri. 20.6, I S. 11.7), *Ḥatokḥ* = schneiden (Dn. 9.24), *Kaso^aḥ* = abschneiden (Jes. 33.12; Ps. 80.17), *Raso^aḥ* = morden, zerschlagen. Auch *Nešeḳ* = Waffe (I K. 10.25; II Ch. 9.24) mag wohl Stichwaffe gewesen sein. Zwar ist *tartaḥu*, das hier als Dehnform behandelt wurde, kein hebräisches Wort, jedoch hielt ich es für gut, da mit hebr. Worten zusammenhängend, hier mit aufzuführen. Zu dem idg. Stamme **deigh* = stechen siehe Gustav Zöllinger: *Tau oder Tau-t-an*, Bern 1952, S. 6/7. Z. nimmt Bezug auf Pokornys idg. Wörterbuch, S. 187, 243, 356. Wie wir sehen, handelt es sich gewiss nicht nur um einen idg. Stamm, die Beispiele aus dem Hebräischen liessen sich leicht durch Beispiele aus dem Arabischen und Aramäischen etc. vermehren. Zu armenisch *kitaḳ* = Stich (idg.) gehört etwa *Ḥittukḥ* = Abschneiden im Hebräischen, u. a. m.

24) *Karbel* = bekleiden (I Ch. 15.27) wird von Ges-Kautzsch: *Hebr. Gr.*, 1909, S. 161 auf aram. *Kabhol* = binden zurückgeführt. Ebenso erklärt auch J. Fürst: *Lehrgeb. d. aram.*

Idiome, S. 61: *Karbel* = *Kabbel* = binden, gürten. Ges-B. ist vorsichtiger, vielleicht erschien der Sprung von assyr. *kabâlu* = fesseln zu *Mekhurbal* = bekleidet, doch zu gross. Auch BJ, der *Karbul* = weites Gewand, aram. *Karbela*, bringt, *Hitkarbel* = sich einhüllen, hütet sich, Fürst's These auch nur zu erwähnen. Nun ist es in der Tat schwer zu begreifen, dass *Hebhel* = Strick (Jos. 2.15), arab. *Habala* = schnüren, binden, die idg. Gruppe, *Kabel*, *cabale*, lat. *copula* = Band, Leine, Koppel, zu einer Bedeutungserweiterung der Art geführt haben könnte, dass aus Binden ein Umhüllen, Bekleiden, sich entwickelt haben könnte. Fürst hat morphologisch vollkommen richtig gesehen, semantisch jedoch ist er übers Ziel hinausgeschossen. Man kann sich mit einem Strick umgürten, aber nicht bekleiden. Wir tun gut, in Zusammenhang mit K. auch ein anderes Wort zu betrachten: *Sarbal* = Mantel.

25) *Sarbal* = Mantel (*Šemu'el*, *Šabbat* 101.2 etc.) scheint mir Satemform zum Verbum *Karbel* = bekleiden, der ursprünglichen Kentumform, zu sein. Siehe hierzu meine (nicht veröffentlichte) Arbeit: *Kentum- und Satemformen im Hebräischen*. Der Name *Sarbal* findet sich schon im aram. Teil des AT (Dan. 3.21, 27). Das Griech. hat in der Septuaginta-Uebersetzung zu 27 *sarabara*, jedoch hatte das Griech. auch die Form mit l: *saraballa* = Rock (M. Mieses: *Entstehung des Judenthums*, 114). Das Arab. hat *Sirbal* = Hemd, Kleid, Rüstung (s. Fränkel: *Aram. Fremdw.* 47). Die aram. Form ist *Sarbela*. Das Hebr. hat auch eine Verbform *Mesurbal* = mit Fleisch bedeckt (Tosefta *Šabbat* 16.9), also eine Bed., die der Bed. von *Mekhurbal* = eingehüllt nahe kommt. Auch das Arab. hat *Sarbala* = bekleiden. Kein Zweifel also, dass (24) and (25) semantisch wie etymologisch zusammengehören. Auf der Suche nach dem bilateralen Stamme kommen wir auf *Fell*, lat. *pellis* = Tierhaut, *Fell*, *Pelz*, auf *vellus* = Wolle, Tierhaut, *Fell*, auf deutsch *Wolle*, engl. *wool* etc. Das ist eine weit bekannte idg. Kleidungswurzel. Griech. *pella* ist Haut, Leder. Auch mit M-Suffix haben wir diesen Stamm in *Film* = *Membrane*, afries. *filmene* = zarte Haut, ags. *felma* = Eihäutchen. Das hebr. *Me'il* = Kleid (Hi. 1.20; I Sam. 18.4 etc.) mag in Urzeiten ein Fell gewesen sein (Wechsel der Labiallaute und Infix), auch *Na'al* = Schuh erklärt sich nun befriedigend als *Fell*, Leder (hier Wechsel von M zu N). *Na'ol* = verschliessen, die Tür verriegeln (Ri. 3.23 etc.) ist ein Ausdruck aus der Zeit, in der man ein Zimmer durch Aufhängen von Fellen in mehrere Räume umwandelte. *Na'ol* ist also urspr. ein Befellen, und daraus entwickelte sich die Bedeutung: abschliessen. *Na'ol* =

beschuh'en (II Ch. 28.15) ist ebenfalls ein Befellen, Beledern des Fusses. Diese lange Abschweifung ist jedoch nötig, damit wir uns klar werden, dass *Karbel* = bekleiden, wie *Sarbel* = bekleiden, späte Entwicklungen sind von einem Stamme, der Fell bedeutete. Sehr wohl möglich, dass wir diese Worte dem Persischen verdanken und dass sie nur Lehnworte im Hebräischen sind, und also streng genommen, nicht in unsere Aufstellung gehören. Jedoch, wer kann diese Grenzen feststellen, da wir ja den gl. Fell-Stamm auch im Hebräischen haben? J. Fürst führt *Sarbel* = bekleiden auf hebr. *Sabbel* zurück (Lehrg. d. aram. Idiome, S. 60), sieht also den Stamm im Hebräischen. Wissen wir z. B., was *Mesubbalim* in Ps. 144.14 bedeutet? Beladen, trächtig? Vielleicht Dickfellig? Im Sinne, dass die *Allufim*, die Rinder, gutes Leder liefern? Wahrscheinlich bedeutet das Wort: schwer und kommt von *Sebel* = Last. Was hat sich jedoch Fürst gedacht, als er *Sarbel* als dissimiliert aus *Sabbel* sah? Dass meine Behauptung vom Fellursprung des Wortes *Sarbal* richtig ist, ersehen wir auch aus der zweiten Bed. des Wortes: lederne Beinkleider oder Schuhe, *pantalons ou souliers de cuir* (auf Grund des 'Arukh, der dies Wort in diesem Sinne aus J'elammdënu anführt).

26) *Kurmiza* = Faust ist ein aram. Wort, das durch Slonskys Uebersetzung von Michael Scholochows: *Jungfräuliche Erde* (Tel Aviv, 1935, Mizpa-Verlag) ins heutige Hebräische Aufnahme fand. *Karmez*, *Kurmiza* könnten wir etwa wiedergeben: verboxen. Fürst führt dies Wort auf das aram. *Kemaz*, hebr. *Qamos* = zusammenraffen, ballen zurück (Aram. Idiome, 60). Dr. Josef Ebhen Odem erklärt *Kurmiza*, hier Fleischer erwähnend, als Par'el-Form, genau wie Fürst (E. O.: *Jalquṭ Qasar*, I, 402/3). Wer eine Hand zu einer Faust ballt, faltet die Hand — *Qammet* ist = falten —, er macht die Hand dadurch kleiner — *Meṭ* ist = klein, gering — *Qamos* selbst ist = sparen, zusammenziehen der Finger, damit ja kein Geld herausfällt. So dürfen wir *Kurmiza* = Faust oder *Karmez* = boxen, über die trilaterale Form *Kemaz*, *Qammet*, *Qamos* (mit *Qomes* = Handvoll) auf eine bilaterale Form zurückzuführen suchen: *Matta* = unten ist ein Begriff, der gering, wenig, verwandt ist. deutsch: minder, mindern, ist nasalisierte Form von einem Stamme, zu dem Mädchen, *Ma'id* = Kleines, Maus = kleines Tierchen, etc. zuzurechnen sind. Der Name Moses, hebr. Moše, wird auf das aegypt. *mos* = Kind zurückgeführt. Kind ist = klein.

27) *Hargol* (Lv. 11.22) ist eine Heuschreckenart. Da Heuschrecken sich wie Schwärme über einen Landstrich zu ergießen

pflegen, hat man an ein Wort gedacht, das Schwarm, Herde, bedeutet. Das arab. Ḥardjāla ist = Haufe von Pferden, Heuschreckenschwarm. Aram. Ḥargēla ist Heuschrecke. Das arab. Ḥardjāla ist = galopieren. Ges-B. sagt nichts über die Abkunft des Wortes. BJ erklärt den Namen auf Grund des Arabischen als = langfüssig. König verweist auf den Personennamen Ḥogla (Nm. 26.33) und auf arab. Ḥadjalun = Rebhuhn. Ḥadjāla ist = springen (vom Raben). Nun ist ja auch galopieren kein gewöhnliches Laufen, sondern ein Springen über Stock und Stein, über Hindernisse etc. Der Hinweis von König zeigt uns den Weg, und wir dürfen auch hier annehmen, dass das Reš in Ḥargol, Ḥardjāla etc. ein Zusatzlaut ist, weil bei der Silbenteilung Ḥag-gāla das erste g durch schärfere Aussprache zu einem r geworden ist. Wie reimen sich nun langfüssig, springen, galopieren zusammen? Sollte hier nicht der Begriff Fuss vorliegen? Das Reš in Regel = Fuss ist ein Anlaut, also variabel, denn im Mand. haben wir u. a. auch Nigla für Fuss. Der bilaterale Stamm könnte also etwa wiederzufinden sein in engl. heel = Ferse aus *hohila, im deutschen Kiel³ = Grundbalken des Schiffs, d. h. der Fuss des Schiffes, engl. keel.

28) Das hebr. Šanneḵ = würgen (P^esiḵta Rabba 36. Ḳum i 'Ori) wird im Aram. zu Šarneḵ = erwürgen (Fürst: Aram. Idiomē, 61) und Fürst sieht vollkommen richtig, dass neben K-Lauten die gleichen Wörter oft mit S-Lauten gebildet werden, wenn er auch den Ausdruck: Kentum- und Satemformen selbst vermeidet. D. H. er sieht, dass Šanneḵ NF zu Ḥanoḵ = erwürgen darstellt, bezw. zum bibl. Ḥanneḵ (Nah. 2.13) in gl. Bed. Ges-B. bemerkt zu diesem Stamme: assyr. ḥinḵu = Stromenge, altägypt. ḥnḵ = eng, ḥng = Kehle. Das deutsche Eng selbst hat einen anderen Laryngalanlaut, jedoch auch hier liegt der gl. Stamm vor, ebenso im lat. anguilla = Aal, angō = beengen etc. Siehe zum Worte Širnuḵ auch Ebhen Odem, IV, 2030/I. Sarneḵ findet sich auch im Targum zu Ps. 63.12.

29) Targum = Uebersetzung, Erklärung (M^egilla 3.1) gilt Ges-Kautzsch: Gram. 1909, S. 160. als Taf'el-Form, Barth: Nominbildung, S. 279, bestreitet das: „Diese Auffassung scheitert an dem einfachen Umstand, dass das Semitische eine solche Konjugation nicht besitzt.“ Er erklärt Targum als Nomen mit Präfix t aus assyr. ragamu = rufen, „woraus wieder ein sekundärer Stamm Targem = übersetzen entstand.“ (S. 302 dort), also wäre M^eturgam ('Ezra 4.7) ein Denominativ. Im Grunde ist das ein Streit um Worte, denn wenn es denominative Verben gibt, in denen das Taw nicht zum Stamme gehört, dann ist das ein Taf'el, auch wenn diese

Bildung nicht ursprünglich ist. (Siehe hierzu Meir Fraenkel: *Maḥ-qre Lašchon*, Jerusalem 1947. Edition Dr. P. Freund, S. 11–16: Gibt es ein Binjan: Taf'el?). Die Hauptfrage liegt woanders. Geht Targum auf *ragamu* zurück? Die Stelle in *Megilla* 3.1 sagt ausdrücklich: *Me'foraš zeh targum* = erklärt, d. h. Targum. Der Dolmetscher erklärt dem Fremden die Worte des Sprechenden. Der *Me'turgēman* ist also in erster Linie ein Erklärer. Und da klar ein Lichtbegriff ist, würde ich den Stamm suchen unter Worten, die belehren, klar machen, verständlich machen, bedeuten. Ein solches Wort ist *Ḥakkeṃ* = weise machen (Ps. 105.22; 119.98; Hi. 35.11) von *Ḥakham* = klug, weise. Ich konstruiere nun von der Kentum-Form *Ḥakkeṃ* eine nicht nachweisbare Satem-Form *Takkeṃ*, und durch Dissimilation entsteht dann aus *Tak-keṃ* = *Tar-keṃ*, bzw. *Targem*. Gewiss ist das stark hypothetisch, jedoch hat dieser Vorschlag ein prae: *Ḥakkeṃ* = erklären hat Logik.

30) *Tarmil* = Ranzen, Hülse, Hülle (Šabbat 31.1, J^ebhamot 16.7 etc.) mit aram. NF *Turmal*, *Turmil*, könnte sachlich auf ein Verbum zurückgehen, das umhüllen bedeutet. Das arab. *Šamila* u. *Šammala* ist = einwickeln, umgeben, kleiden. Das hebr. Nomen *Simla* (Gn. 9.23; Ri. 8.25 etc.) ist = Mantel, Obergewand. Bei der Behandlung von *Karbel* (24) = bekleiden und *Sarbal* (25) = Mantel verwies ich auf die Wortgruppe *Fell*, *pellis*, und führte als M-Variante dieser *Fell*-Gruppe das hebr. *Me'il* = Rock an. Hier nun in *Simla* haben wir dies M. mit s-Präfigierung. Auch im Idg. haben wir diese M-Variante als Wärme- und Kleidungsnamen, so in *Mull* = feines Baumwollgewebe, im ind. *Malmal* = Musselin, und im talmudischen *Malmala* in gl. Bed. (Gittin 59.1). Da das 'Ajin in *Me'il* Dehnlaut ist, so ist *Malmala* reduplizierte Form zu *Me'il*. Von einer bilateralen Wurzel ML kommt also das dreibuchstabige *Simla* und das arab. Verbum *Šamila*, *Šammala*. *Tarmil* scheint mir dissimilierte Form aus *Šam-mil*, das zu *Šar-mil* wurde, zu sein. Der Wechsel der verschiedenen S-Laute untereinander ist nicht auffällig, so ist *Tamokh* = stützen = *Samokh* = stützen, *Tafōḥ* = klatschen wechselt mit *Safok* = klatschen. Einen direkten Wechsel von Sin in Taw kenne ich nicht (obwohl Herzfeld: *Einblicke*, S. 39/40 auch solchen Wechsel annimmt.)

31) *Pargol* = Peitsche, lat. *flagellum*, ist im Grunde kein hebräisches Wort, jedoch findet sich der bilaterale Stamm dieses Wortes im Hebräischen, ebenso wie im Lateinischen, woher unser Lehnwort ja kommt. *Flaggelum*, griech. *phlagellion*,

müsste eine vulgärlat. Form *fragellum* besessen haben — die Fliesslaute *l* und *r* tauschen ja leicht miteinander — das wird auch durch die lat. NF *flagrum* für Peitsche, Knute, bewiesen. Da nun das lat. *Baculum* = Stock ist, *bacillum* = Stäbchen, so ergibt sich, dass *fragellum* — *flagellum* eine Dehnform ist. Das ist der idg. St. **qel* = schlagen. Engl. *to kill*, deutsch = killen, jiddisch *Koilen*, als Verba — Keule, Keil, das hebr. 'Ala (Jos. 24.26) als Nomina, gehören zu **qel*. Auch das deutsche Verkeilen ist ein Schlagen. Im Hebräischen *Maqqel* haben wir den gl. St. Statt des *b* in *baculum* haben wir einen anderen Labialanlaut, das *m*. Da das *Quf* ein Dageš hat, können wir ein altes Wort konstruieren: **Naqol* oder *Naqqel* für = schlagen, deutsch mundartl. ver-wackeln. Nachweisbar ist eine solche Wurzel nicht — lt. Ges-B. ist die Etymologie von *Maqqel* unsicher. Da *M.* = Stock ist, haben wir keinen Anlass, an der Gleichung mit *baculum* zu zweifeln. Jeder Versuch, *Maqqel* mit arab. *Nakala* = überführen, transportieren, zu verbinden, ist eine semantische Unmöglichkeit. Recht jedoch hat vielleicht Rabbi Jona Ibn Ġanaḥ, der *M.* mit *Maggal* = Sichel (Joel 4.13) verbindet, denn *Maggal*, arab. *Mindjal*, geht auf eine Wurzel **NGL* zurück. Auch BJ kommt theoretisch zur Festsetzung einer solchen Wurzel.

32) *Sar'appim* = Gedanken (Ps. 94.19; 139.23) ist Dehnform aus *S'e'ippim* (Hi. 20.2). Siehe hierzu Ges-B. zu *S'P*, ferner J. Barth: *Etym. Studien*, S. 57, Ernst Meier: *Hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch*, S. 663, S. 453/4, Levi Herzfeld: *Einblicke*, S. 62. Das arab. *Šağaf* ist = Begierde — und trotz der lautgesetzlichen Unstimmigkeit ist auch das hebr. *Ša'of* = nach etwas streben (Ko. 1.5), j.-aram. = gierig schnappen, der gl. St. — Der Wechsel von *S* in *Š* ist ja der gleiche Wechsel wie zwischen *Sibbole* und *Šibbole*, also Dialektnüance. Das Gleiche gilt vom Wechsel der Laryngallaute 'Alef und 'Ajin. Ges-B. verweist auf *Šuf* = trachten nach = arab. *Šuf* = schauen. Diese Satemform geht auf frühere Kentumformen zurück, erkenntlich im deutschen Hoffen = ausschauen, hebr. *Qawwe* = hoffen, lat. *cupio* = wünschen, ersehen.

33) 'Arsal = Hängematte ('Erubhin 25.2), auch 'Arzela, mit Verbum *Hit'arsel* = sich verstricken, kommt aus dem Aramäischen: 'Arzel ist spinnen. Das Wort geht auf 'azal = spinnen zurück. Siehe Levi Herzfeld, *Einblicke*, S. 62 unten. Wahrscheinlich verwandt mit arab. *Wazala* = verbinden, *Patol* = zusammendrehen, flechten. Und ebenso sind die Nomina *Aššil* = Handgelenk = Verbindung, *Jašul* = Deichsel = Verbindungsglied, auch mit *Patil* = Faden, Schnur, eigentlich = Zusammengedrehtes,

Verbindung von Fäden, verwandt. Auch 'Eṣel = neben, bei (Gn. 39.15) ist ein=verbunden. Das assyr. eṣêlu ist=binden. Den bilateralen Stamm haben wir im deutschen Seil=Strick, Riemen, im finn. sila = Zugseil. Das deutsche Siele ist=Riemen.

34) Hebr. 'Arṭil = nackt, 'Arṭilaj = nackt, 'Arṭel = entkleiden, hit'arṭel = sich entkleiden, sind Lehnworte im Neuhebräischen, die Worte finden sich im Aramäischen. Siehe Levi Herzfeld: *Einblicke*, S. 63 oben. Das Arabische hat 'Aṭṭala = einer Frau die Schmuckstücke abziehen, einen Mann berauben. Das Reš in 'Arṭil ist also Dehnform. Aus der arabischen Bedeutung wird der Kontakt mit Gazol = berauben, Naṭol = wegnehmen, deutlich. Der bilaterale Stamm findet sich im lat. tollo = wegnehmen. Auch im Deutschen erkennen wir diesen Stamm in Stehlen, Diebstahl. In der hebr. Befehlsform: Šal = ziehe aus, lege ab (Ex. 3.5) haben wir den gleichen bilateralen Stamm, doch leitet man das Wort vom triliteralen Našol = abwerfen ab, andere von Šalol = herausziehen, plündern. Jedoch ist das Nun in Našol n-Präfigierung und Šalol rechnet zu den halbreduplizierten Stämmen, den sogenannten Kefulim. Vielleicht bedeutet deutsch toll, engl. dull auch nur=des Verstandes beraubt.

35) Tarpas = Zwerchfell (Rambam Šeḥiṭa 6.10), chald. = Fett (Levi Herzfeld: *Einblicke*, S. 63, Ernst Meier: *Hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch*, S. 660) geht nach Beiden auf einen kürzeren Stamm zurück. Das assyr. ṭapašu bed.=fett, reichlich sein. Auch in Ps. 119.70 wird der Verbform Ṭafaš diese Bedeutung zugeschrieben, so von BJ. Ges-B. übersetzt dagegen =stupide, unempfindlich. Jedoch beweist die assyr. Bed., was primär ist, und was Bedeutungsentwicklung darstellt. Das deutsche Fett, engl. fat, stellt eine ältere bilaterale Grundform des Stammes dar.

36) Aus 'Aḳebh = Ferse (Gn. 3.15) wird durch Dehnung arab. 'Urḳub (Ernst Meier: *Wurzelwörterbuch*, S. 662). Hebr. ist 'Arḳobh = Kniescheibe, und sodann mit 'Alef: 'Arḳubha = Knie, 'Arḳof = Steigbügel. Aus all dem wird klar, dass hier die Wz. hebr. Kafof = biegen, arab. Kaffa, vorliegt. Formen ohne Reš sind u. a.: 'Ukkaf = Packsattel (Kelim 23.1), arab. 'Ikkaḳaḳa. Doch beweist die Dagešierung, dass hier ein Laut zum Ausfall kam. Wir dürfen auch annehmen, dass Huf und Hof Biegung, Rundung, bedeuten. Lat. cavus = hohl, bezeichnet den Begriff „gewölbt.“

37) Karmelit (Šabbat 6.2), Boden, der weder Privat- noch Allgemeinbesitz ist, interessiert uns hier nicht wegen der juristischen Fragen, die dieser Eigentumsbegriff aufwirft. BJ schreibt: „der Ur-

sprung des Wortes ist nicht geklärt." Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass *Karmelit* verwandt mit '*Armela*' = Witwer ist — siehe (17) dieser Arbeit — = unglücklich, ärmlich. Es war ärmlicher Boden, Sandboden, auf dem nichts wuchs, und der daher auch die Eigentumsgefühle nicht so reizte. Nun ist arab. *Raml* = Sand, und J. Barth bringt auch in seinem: *Nominalbildung* (S. 141) das arab. '*Amil* = Sandhaufen, und das hebr. '*Amul* (Ez. 16.30) wird von BJ = verdorben erklärt. '*Amel* ist bei den *Pajtanim* = schwach, niedergeschlagen etc. Sowohl in *Karmelit*, als auch in dem oben behandelten '*Armela*' ist also das Reš Zeichen der Dehnung.

38) *Karte* ^a = hüpfen (*Hullin* 75.1) kommt m. A. n. von *Kitte* ^a = humpelnd, verstümmelt, Invalid etc. (*Ta'anit* 21.1). BJ (T. S.) vermerkt zu *Karte* ^a: der Ursprung des Wortes sei nicht geklärt, und bringt einige Erklärungen, die versucht worden sind, und die in der Tat nicht überzeugen. Jedoch die einzig mögliche Erklärung: Denominativum von *Kitte* ^e und Erweiterung des Stammes durch infigiertes Reš — wie in *Sarbit* von *Sebet* — fehlt.

39) '*Argaz* (I S. 6.8) ist ein Sack oder ein Behälter. Heute ist '*A* = Kiste, und vielleicht war das auch der '*A*. im Buche Samuel. Das arab. *Riğaza* bezeichnet ein kl. Baldachin auf einem Kamel. Der bilaterale Stamm müsste also jener sem.-idg. Stamm sein, der bedecken, verhüllen, bedeutet. Hebr. *Kaso* und *Kassé* = bedecken (Ps. 32.1; Ez. 31.15), *Kesut* = Kleidung (Hi. 26.6), *Kis* = Beutel (Jes. 46.6) — im Deutschen etwa: Hut, Hose, Kutte, engl. *coat* = Mantel, Rock etc. Aber auch die Wohnbegriffe Haus, Kate, casa, — Hütte, nl. *cot*, anord. *Kot* = Hütte, anord. *kytja* = kleine Hütte, und ebenso das deutsche Kittchen für Gefängnis. etc. bedeuten = Bedeckung vor Regen und Schnee, Dach aus Zweigen, Steinen. Der Wohnbegriff ist ein Begriff der Bedachung. Nun hat das Deutsche Kiste aus dem lat. *cista* = Kasten, griech. *kisté* — Kiste war im Obersächsischen Wandschrank — Kiste, Kasten ist aber hebr. '*Argaz*. Sollten wir also nicht annehmen, dass das Reš Dehnzeichen ist — Kluge-Goetze behauptet, Kiste und Kasten wären unverwandt. Jedoch ist Kasten = Behälter. Ernst Meier stellt in seinem *Wurzelwörterbuch*, S. 667, '*Azu* ^e*goz* = Nuss, d. h. auch er sieht das Reš als Dehnzeichen an. Vielleicht bezeichnet also ^e*goz*, arab. *Djuz*, die Schale, die Umhüllung der Frucht.

40) Im Talmud findet sich der Name eines *Šeres* = Kriechtiers: *Karpadaj* oder *Korpadaj*. BJ gibt wieder = Maulwurf, und T. S. vermutet, dass hier Erweiterung aus *Kippod* = Igel nach der übl. Deutung vorliegt. Jedoch übersetzen Andere den Tier-

namen auch = Rohrdommel (Jes. 14.23; 34.11), Baruch Lindau hält *Ḳippod* für eine Krähe — es herrscht also keine Einigkeit über die Deutung des Namens *Ḳippod*, und auch die Annahme, dass *Ḳarp^edaj Ḳorp^edaj* von *Ḳippod* stamme, ist nicht gesichert. Denn wenn *Ḳippod* in der Tat ein Vogel ist, wie kann da Zusammenhang mit *Ḳorp^edaj* bestehen, wo doch die Stelle in *Hullin* 63.1 ausdrücklich ein Kriechtier bezeichnet? Nun bedeutet im Französischen *Crapaud* eine Kröte, und dieser Lautähnlichkeit wegen bezeichnet das Modernhebräische eine Kröte mit *Ḳarpada* — siehe *Millon Hadaš*, IV, 1514 — und dabei wird auf das Talmudische *Ḳarp^edaj* (*Hullin* 63) Bezug genommen. Ist also *Ḳippod*, erweitert zu *Ḳorp^edaj*, eine Kröte, dann dürfen wir dies Wort, mit dem hebr. Verbstamm *Ḳafos* zusammenstellen. *Ḳafos* ist = springen, und *Ḳippod Ḳarp^edaj* wäre demnach = Springer. Das passt auch zu dem Analogon Frosch, engl. *frog*, ags. *frogga*, anord. *frauki*, ein Name, der Springer bedeutet. Man denke an das sem. *Paro^aḥ* II = hüpfen, fliegen (Ez. 13.20), an *'Efro^aḥ* = junge Brut, flügge, Springinsfeld. Das plattdeutsche Padde, auch im Hochdeutschen noch erkenntlich in Schildpatt, ist Frosch, Kröte. Schildpad (nl.) ist Schildkröte. Auch im Dialektausdruck: peesen — er peest durch die Gegend — hat sich die Bedeutung = eilen erhalten, und springen, hüpfen ist = schnelle Bewegung. *Ḥafoz* = eilen (II K. 7.15) ist aber mit *Ḳafos* = springen, gewiss bedeutungsmässig verwandt.

41) *Levi Herzfeld*, *Einblicke*, S. 63 oben, macht auf das syr. *'Arkel* = verdrehen von *'Aḳkel* = verdrehen aufmerksam. Obwohl strenggenommen diese Arbeit dem *Reš* als Dehnform im Hebräischen gewidmet ist, sei auch dies syr. Wort hier aufgenommen = *Me'ukkal* = verdreht, verkehrt, findet sich in *Hab.* 1.4. Der bilaterale Stamm ist in slav. *cola* = Rad, d. h. rund, gebogen, in *Kuller* = Murmel, im Hebr. *Gulla* = Knauf, Murmel, etc. erkennbar.

42) Im Talmud findet sich das Wort *Gurzeḳi* (*Šabbat* 106.2) in der Bed. = Käfig. Dr. Josef Ebhen Odem macht in *Jalḳuṭ Ḳašar*, I, S. 162 auf dies seltene Wort aufmerksam und verweist auch auf das aram. *Ḥarzeḳ* = festhalten, gefangen setzen für das hebr. *Ḥazoḳ* (II Chr. 28.20). Auf Grund der syr. Form schlägt E. O. vor, *Ḥarzeḳ* als = internieren ins Hebräische aufzunehmen. Der bilaterale Ursprung von *Ḥazaḳ* = stark ist zu finden in: *Dick*, *thick* = fest. Die Bedeutung des Verbums *Zaḳoḳ* = fesseln (*Seder 'Olam Rabba* 25) ist also eigentlich = festhalten: *'azikkim* (Jer. 40.1), *Zikkim* (Jes. 45.14), urverwandt mit engl. *tie*,

deutsch Tau, aus früheren Formen ae. tēg, ais. taug, etc., bedeutet = festhaltende Stricke.

43) *Ḥarbeš* = zucken (*Eldad Ḥad Dani*, ed. Epstein 2.6) gehört zu der Wortgruppe, die unter (40) *Ḳarpeḏaj Ḳarpada*, behandelt wurde. Arab. *Karbaša Takarbaša*. Triliterale Form: *Ḳaf o š* = springen.

44) Keinen Zusammenhang hiermit hat der Vorschlag von Dr. J. Ebhen Odem, *Jalḳuṭ Ḳašar*, I, S. 161: *Ḥarbeš* für *to bungle*, verpfuschen, einzuführen. Doch beweist der Vorschlag lebendiges Sprachgefühl, denn die Satemform *Šabbeš* = verderben von *Biš* = böse ist ja nachweisbar. *Biš*, engl. *bad*, deutsch böse, gehören zu einem Urstamm, einem Boden-Urstamm. Auch pfuschen, futsch, ver-sch-winden, das hebr. *ʾAbhod* = wandern, fortgehen, verloren gehen — sind Glieder in dieser Kette, die immer Negatives, Schlechtes, bezeichnet.

45) *Ḥarkeš* = knistern, rasseln, engl. *to crepitate*, wird von Dr. J. Ebhen Odem, *Jalḳuṭ Ḳašar*, I, S. 171/2, auf Grund des Syrischen in Vorschlag gebracht. E. O. hält das syr. Verbum für eine Erweiterung aus *Ḥarok* = knirschen (Ps. 35.16), was sachlich natürlich nahe liegt, und auch Bar Bahalul, den E. O. anführt, scheint dieser Meinung zu sein. Jedoch ist die Existenz sogenannter *Paʿleš*-Bildungen nicht gesichert, ausser etwa bei der Einhebraisierung von Lehnwörtern wie griech. *typos* in *Ḥadpis* = drucken odgl. Wir können also eher annehmen, dass hier *Ḳaškeš*, *Ḥaḳḳiš*, *Naḳ o š* — diese Wortgruppe, die anklopfen, rasseln, rascheln, anschlagen, bedeutet, vorliegt. Und wir können in *Ḥ.* eine *Parʿel*-Form vermuten, obwohl eine Form *Ḥaḳḳeš*, die wir konstruieren, fehlt. Dafür haben wir aber *ʾAkkēs* (Jes. 3.16) = mit den Fussspangen klirren. *ʾAkkēs* = klirren war schon immer ein Sorgenkind der Bibelexegese. Mit der Gleichstellung *ʾAkkēs* = *Naḳḳeš* hat das Wort eine befriedigende Deutung gefunden. Zum Wechsel zwischen *ʾAjin* und *Nun* denke man an *ʾEzer* = Hilfe (hebr.) = *Nuṣr* = Hilfe (arab.).

46) *Sargala* = Lastwagen (*Midraš Rabba Exodus 15*) gehört eng zu *Seḡalgol* = rundlich, elliptisch, und diese Form mit *Samekh* ist Satemform zu *ʾaḡalgol* = rundlich, elliptisch von *ʾAgol* = rund, und diese Form geht wieder auf einen zweibuchstabilen Stamm zurück, der unter (13) wie unter (41) aufgeführt wurde. Ich erinnerte an serbisch *kola* = Wagen. Diese Erklärung passt im Uebrigen zur Bed. des aethiop. *Saragala* = Wagen, Rad. (Mit *Sargel* = Lineal, siehe Krauss, *Lehnw.* II, 124, aus lat. *regula* = Leiste, Lineal, liegt kein Zusammenhang vor.)

47) *Karkobh* (Ex. 27.5) = Einfassung, Rand gehört zu der unter (36) besprochenen Wortgruppe, geht also auf **kaf* = biegen zurück. Die Frage ist: gehört *Karkobh* zu *Rakobh* = reiten und bedeutet: Aufsatz? *Rakobh* geht auf *Gabh* = Rücken zurück, und bedeutet = auf dem Rücken sitzen, vielleicht auch = krumm sitzen. Oder sollen wir eine Form *Kakkobh* annehmen, von der aus sich *K.* als Reš-Dehnform erklären liesse? Ein Rand ist etwas Rundes, und *Hakḳif* = umgehen, (Jos. 6.3), *Naḳof* = umgehen (Jes. 29.1), '*Aḳof* = umgehen (Sifré Deut. 343), '*Aḳif* = Umkreis = *Heḳef* = Umkreis, gehen alle auf den Stamm **kap*, *kaf* = krümmen, biegen, zurück (s. Friedrich Delitzsch: *Studien* etc., S. 47 und 86/7). Denn wer einen Umkreis beschreibt, geht nicht in grader Linie, sondern in einer Krümmung, Biegung. Diese etymologische Deutung passt übrigens zu der von Rabbi Jehuda (*Z'bhahim* 62.1) gegebenen, wonach das Wort *K.* = *Hassobheb* = Umkreis, Kreislinie, bedeutet.

48) *Karkom* = Safran (Ct. 4.14) heisst im Lateinischen *crocus*, und da auch eine zweite Form *crocum* besteht, könnte man annehmen, hier liege ein Lehnwort aus dem Lateinischen vor. Auch die Tatsache, dass das Hohelied dem biblischen Kanon angehört, also vor der Eroberung Erez Israels durch Griechen und Römer verfasst sein muss, ist kein Gegenbeweis, findet sich doch auch in den historischen Büchern der Bibel das Wort *Pillegeš* = Keksweib = lat. *paelex* = Keksweib, Mätresse. Jedoch sind die Lehnwortbeziehungen zwischen Lateinisch-Griechisch einerseits und Hebräisch-Aramäisch andererseits nicht immer klar. Während die Einen einen starken phönizisch-kanaanäischen Einfluss etwa auf das Griechische annehmen, rechnen Andere mit starker Lehnwortübernahme idg. Wörter ins Hebräische. Es wäre also ebenso denkbar, dass *Karkom* zu lat. *crocum* wurde. Denn auch *hitkarkem* (Jerušalmi und Midraš Rabba an verschiedenen Stellen) bed. = sich verfärben, grün werden, und Rabbi D. Kimḥi erklärt *Jerakraḳ* mit: *Meḳhurkan* = verfärbt, vergrünt. Die Möglichkeit, dass in *K.* eine *Tamjim*-Endung vorliegt, ist zwar nicht ausgeschlossen — *Kark-om* = *croc-us* (-um) — und *Kark-croc* könnte sehr wohl NF von *Jaroḳ* = grün sein; jedoch ist auch eine zweite Deutung denkbar, wenn auch nicht sicher: Abkunft von '*Ukhem* = schwarz (*Giṭṭin* 68.1). Jedoch in *Šabbat* 20.2 ist '*Ukhmeta* = Grünspan! BJ bringt '*Akhom* = braun als Lehnwort aus dem Syrischen und Aramäischen. In *Soṭa* 15.2 findet sich das Verbum: *Hit'akkem* = schwarz werden, '*Ukhmanit* ist = Heidelbeere im Modernhebräischen. Die Heidelbeere ist schwarz, heisst

jedoch in manchen Gegenden auch Blaubeere. Wir sehen also, der menschliche Mund war in Farbennennungen nie sehr genau. BJ vermutet Verwandtschaft zwischen 'A k h o m mit Laryngalanlaut und H u m (Gn. 30.32) = dunkel, schwarz. Hier liegt wohl der bilaterale Kern von K a r k o m — das Reš ist also auch hier Dehnzeichen.

49) P i r ḥ a ḥ (Hi. 30.12) wird Gespross, Brut etc. übersetzt, d. h. man nimmt bei dieser Deutung Ursprung von P a r o^a ḥ = spriessen, sprossen an. Danach wäre die vierbuchstabige Form durch Verdoppelung des Lamed Hap Po'al entstanden, also Pa^alel-Form. Die heute übliche Uebersetzung ist = Gesindel, Lausbuben, etc. J. Many schlägt in seinem H i o b - K o m m e n t a r, 3. Fassung (Kirjat Moše, 1955) vor, zu lesen: P i r ḥ a mit He am Schluss, und er erklärt dies Wort also Sammelbegriff für niedrige, verachtete Leute. Ist jedoch die Lesart mit H am Ende des Wortes richtig, dann würde ich P. aus P o ḥ e^a ḥ (Me'gilla 4.6; Me'gilla 24.2) deuten. P. bed. = halbnackt, zerrissen, in zerlumpter Kleidung. Der Targum zu Jes. 20.3-4 hat für 'A r u m = nackt P a ḥ e^a ḥ und P^e ḥ i ḥ i n. Die Annahme liegt also nahe, dass hier eine aram. NF des Stammes B a ḵ o ḵ vorliegt. Dieser Stamm findet sich in verschiedenen Stellen der Bibel (Jes. 24.3; Jer. 51.2 etc.) = verwüsten, ausplündern. B u ḵ a (Nah. 2.11) ist = Oede, Leere. Immer also ein recht negativer Begriff — das aram. B^e ḵ i ḵ ist morsch. Das arab. B a ḵ ḵ a ist = spalten. Zwar verwahrt sich Barth, W u r z e l u n t e r s u c h u n g e n, S. 7, gegen diese Gleichung B a ḵ o ḵ = B a ḵ ḵ a, und verbindet B a ḵ o ḵ mit arab. B a ḵ a = Böses tun, überfallen, jedoch ist auch das nur eine NF von B a ḵ ḵ a. Aus all dem würde ich schliessen: P i r ḥ a ḥ ist Dehnform aus P o ḥ e^a ḥ = B o ḵ e ḵ. Ob nun im aktiven Sinne Raubgesindel verstanden wurde, oder passivisch Leute mit zerschlissener Kleidung, halbnackte Strolche — das können wir aus der Form alleine nicht erschliessen, doch ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass hier part. activum vorliegt. P i r ḥ a ḥ = B o ḵ e ḵ ist aber in jedem Falle eine Dehnform, ob wir nun Nackter oder Plünderer als Uebersetzung annehmen wollen.

50) S i r p a d (Jes. 55.13) ist vielleicht Pflanze mit langem Stengel = Š a r b h i ṭ = Stab siehe unter (1). Ges-B. übersetzt: Step-penpflanze. Heutige Bed. = Nessel auf Grund der Vulgata. Das ägypt. s a r p o t ist Lotus. Siehe Ernst Meier: W u r z e l w ö r t e r b u c h, S. 674-675.

51) Ḥ a r d a l = Senf, Mostrich (Baba Batra 2.10), vielleicht erweitert aus 'A d e l (Tosefta) = Pfefferkraut, l e p i d i u m, Kresse. Diese Festlegung auf Grund des Syrischen 'A d l a' durch Dr. I.

Löw. Es handelt sich um verschiedene Pflanzen, jedoch werden Pflanzennamen oft von einer auf die andere Pflanze übertragen auf Grund äusserer Aehnlichkeit oder ähnlichen Gebrauches.

52) Šar be b h (B'rakhot 54.2) mit Hitpa'el: Hi štar be b h (Soṭa 32.1) wird verschieden übersetzt. J. Levy: Chald. Wörterbuch über die Targumim, ist der Meinung, dass auch hier Dehnform und Einschaltung eines Reš vorliegt von einem Stamme Ša b b e b h Ta b b e b h = herunterlassen, herunterschleifen. Für diese Deutung spricht vor Allem die Stelle in Soṭa 35.1. Jedoch verschiedene Wörterbücher übersetzen: lang machen und sehen in Š. eine Šaf'el-Form von RBB = lang, gross. Auch Segall in seiner Grammatik der Mišna-Sprache, S. 122, hält Š. für eine Šaf'el-Form. Gur, Ebhen Šošan, Barukh Krupnik, übersetzen Š. = lang machen. Dafür spricht in der Tat Raši zu Gn. 49.22, wo von Josef berichtet wird, er hätte seine Mutter verdeckt, dadurch, dass er seine Körpergrösse „Šir be b h," also: sich gross machte. Raši zu K'etubbot 17.2 lässt aber wieder die andere Deutung zu, dass ein Schleier sich vom Kopfe auf die Augen gelegt hat, also heruntergerutscht ist. Ša b b e b h (Šabbat 87.1) bed. = deprimieren, würde also zu J. Levy's Deutung = herunterlassen, herunterschleifen, passen.

53) 'a ga r ṭ e l (Esra 1.9) = Becken, heute = Vase, wird von Julius Fürst: Lehrg. der aram. Idiome, S. 48, als Dehnform erklärt aus K' e ṭ a l Za b. Gimmel Tet Alef Lamed, also wohl G' e ṭ a l. Ges-B. dagegen erklärt dies Wort: mögl. Zusammenhang mit griech. k a r t a l o s = Korb. Diesen Zusammenhang sieht Fürst auch, aber er ist der Meinung, dass sowohl 'a ga r ṭ e l wie K a r ṭ a l o s aus Ga r ṭ e l = Ka ṭ ṭ a l = Opferbecken zu erklären sind. In den mir zur Verfügung stehenden Wörterbüchern fand ich Ka ṭ ṭ a l nicht. Das arab. D j a r d a l ist = Eimer und das lat. c a t i l l u s ist = Schüsselchen, Näpfchen, Tellerchen. Da nun Ba ṣ a l = Zwiebel ursprünglich Schale ist, — was Pa ṣ ṣ e l = abschälen bestätigt von einer Wurzel *Ṣ-L, so würde ich auch K' e ṭ a l als Schale deuten. Gewiss geht Ṣ-L zurück auf eine noch frühere Kentumform, noch erkenntlich im Verbum: Pa ḳ ḳ e l = abschälen (Ma's'e'rot 1.6) und erkenntlich auch in den idg. Formen: engl. s h e l l = Muschel, nordfries. s k a l = Muschelschale, s k e e l = Napf, dem deutschen Schale etc. — jedoch spricht die semitische Form, die sich zur Satemform entwickelt hat — auch Sa l = Korb selbst ist = Schale — nicht gegen eine Identifizierung mit der gleichbedeutenden indo-germanischen. Das Nebeneinandervorkommen von Pa ḳ ḳ e l und Pa ṣ ṣ e l in gleichen Bedeutungen spricht eine zu deutliche Sprache.

54) D a r d a ḳ = Kleinkind (Baba Batra 21.1) kommt aus dem

Aramäischen. Auch das Arabische hat *D a r d a k*. Nöldeke hält es auch dort für ein aramäisches Lehnwort. *D a r d a k* hängt gewiss mit *D a k* = klein, fein, zusammen (Jes. 29.5). *D a k* ist auch Staub, Minute, Atom — immer ist eine besonders kleine Einheit von Stoff damit gemeint. Das Aramäische hat eine Dehnform *D a ' d a k* (J. Fürst, *Lehrgebäude der aram. Idiome*, 58), und diese Form ist vielleicht schon legere Aussprache einer reduplizierten Form: *D a k d a k*. *D a k d e k* ist = genau sein, klein machen. *D a k d e k e t* waren Fleischbrocken, Schabefleisch. *D i k d u k* = Grammatik ist Genauigkeit in sprachlichen Dingen bis ins Kleinste. Der Prozess war also: *D a k d a k* wird zu *D a ' d a k* — der erste K-Laut wird undeutlich. Später tritt Dissimilation ein: aus *D a ' d a k* wird *D a r d a k*.

55) Im Arabischen ist das Reš als Dehnform häufig: Ein Beispiel für viele: *Š a r b a k a* = verstricken anstelle des hebräischen *S a b b e k h* = verstricken, verflechten (Soṭa 43.2).

56) Dürfen wir zu diesen hebräischen, bzw. aramäischen und arabischen Worten auch einen französischen Ortsnamen hinzufügen? Der Städtenamen *Marseille* wird zwar von Albert Dauzat: *Les noms de lieux*, erwähnt (2, 57. 92), jedoch wird nur M. Wahlgren's Deutung vom Namen Marcellus gebracht. Ich hörte, dass in Frankreich auch die Deutung nach dem Namen des römischen Kriegsgottes *Mars* verbreitet sei. Dauzat bringt als lat. Form der Stadt: *M a s s i l i a*, als griech. Form: *M a s s a l i a*. Matthias Mieses: *Die Entstehung des Judenhasses*, 32, verweist darauf, dass das Netz der phönizischen Kolonien an der ganzen südgallischen Küste entlang ging. „Von Narbonne angefangen bis über Monaco, dessen Namen aus dem hebräisch-phönizischen *Mnucha* (Ruhe) stammen soll, erstreckte sich einst eine Kette phönizischer Ansiedlungen. *Marseille-Massala* war entweder eine rein phönizische Gründung, die dann von den Phokäern in Besitz genommen wurde, oder eine phokäische Gründung, in der die Phönizier eine ansehnliche Gemeinde bildeten. Im populationistischen Sinne kommt es auf dasselbe hinaus. Phönizische Siedlungen waren *Illiberis*, *Heraclea*, *Nemausus*." Bis hierher Mieses, den ich so ausführlich brachte, damit der Leser nicht die berechtigte Frage: Wie kommen semitische Namen nach Gallien? als Phantasterei von vornherein ablehne. Denn wenn sich die Reš-Epenthese, wie hier an 56 Beispielen dargelegt, häufig in semitischen Worten findet — und siehe hierüber J. Fürst, *Lehrg. der aram. Idiome*, S. 129 —, dann könnte sehr wohl das hebr. Nomen *M e s i l l a* = aufgeschütteter, gebahnter Weg (Jes. 40.3; 49.11), = Landstrasse (Ri. 20.31; II Sam. 20.12), auch allgemein = Bahn, durch eine solche

Epenthese zu Marsilla geworden sein. Die griech. und lat. Formen zeigen noch die ursprüngliche Form — und damit ist jede Ableitung von Mars oder Marcellus ad absurdum geführt. Und zudem: Ist eine Ortsbezeichnung, die Weg, Strasse, Bahn, bedeutet, nicht recht plausibel?

Schlussbemerkung: Nicht angeführt wurden hier u. a. I) Pardes = Obstgarten, griech. paradeisos, obwohl Ernst Meier auch dies Wort auf einen Stamm Pe Dalet Samekh zurückführt. Im Allgemeinen wird das Wort auf awest. pairidaeza = Umwallung zurückgeführt. II) Zarzif = Regenguss (Ps. 72.6), das ich zum Stamme Raṭobh = nass sein (Hi. 24.8) rechne. Siehe hierzu meine Arbeit: „Der S-Anlaut im Hebräischen.“ III) Kurnas = Hammer (Šabbat 12.1) ist ein griech. Wort: koruné = Keule oder das lat. cornus = Lanze. Das Samekh ist also Suffix, sodass hier überhaupt keine echte Quadrilittera vorliegt. IV) Parsem = publik machen, das Julius Fürst auf Bassem = Düfte verbreiten zurückführt (Lehrg. der aram. Idiome, 61), während BJ (T. S.), Band X, S. 5206 hier das griech. parresis = parrisia sieht. Beide Worte bedeuten = Redefreiheit, Freimut, Öffentlichkeit. T. S. sieht also hier das gleiche Lehnwort wie in Parhesja (Sanhedrin 74.2) = Öffentlichkeit, und erklärt das Schluss-Mem in Parsem als alten Lesefehler. Also ein Analogon zum Lehnwort Lištim, griech. lestai = Räuber. Auf jeden Fall schien mir Fürstens Ableitung zweifelhaft. V) P^eraḳdan oder Parḳ^edan (B^erakhot 13.2) = auf dem Rücken liegend, wird von BJ (T. S.) erklärt vom griech. proktos = Der Hintern. VI) Sargel = liniieren wird von Löw bei Krauss, Lehnw. II, 124 auf das lateinische regula = Leiste, Lineal, zurückgeführt. Felix Perles dagegen deutet Sargel als das lat. strigilis = Schabeisen. Auf jeden Fall ist S. kein hebräisches Wort. Mit Sargala = Lastwagen, das ich unter (46) brachte, kann selbstverständlich kein semantischer Zusammenhang vorliegen. VII) Kaṛḳa' = Erde, Erdboden, gehört meiner Ansicht nach zu 'Arḳa = Erde = Orkus. Kaṛḳa' ist also 'Arḳa mit Kehllaut als Einsatz. Im aram. 'Ar'a' sind beide K-Laute geschwunden und haben schwächeren laryngalen Lauten Platz gemacht. Immer gehört das Reš zum Stamme. Im assyr. Kaḳ-ḳa ru = Erdboden hat sich allerdings das Reš an das nachfolgende ḳ assimiliert und ist so zum Verschwinden gekommen. VIII) Zu 'Arnaḳ = Geldbeutel, aram. 'Arn^eḳa' (Baba Batra 8.1) fehlt mir eine plausible Erklärung. IX) Dargaš = Sofa (N^edarim 7.4). Auch hierzu fehlt mir eine richtige Deutung. Es ist wohl möglich, dass Sagoḏ = sich niederbeugen (Jes. 44.15) von einer biliteralen Wurzel,

arab. Ḥ a t t a = niederwerfen, dreibuchstabig N a ḥ o t = hinabsteigen (Hi. 21.13) und das schon erwähnte S a g o d, den Weg weisen. Auf jeden Fall ist D a r g a š ein niedriges Bett. Ich hatte jedoch Bedenken, D a r g a š unter (57) einzureihen, vielleicht stellt sich das . . a š als die lateinische Endung . . u s oder als griechische . . o s von einem von mir übersehenen Worte heraus.

*ABKÜRZUNGEN

ae	altenglisch
ahd	althochdeutsch
afr	altfranzösisch
ags	angelsächsisch
angels	angelsächsisch
BJ	Ben Jehuda
Br. R.	Bereshit Rabba
E. d. Judenh.	Entstehung des Judenhasses
E. B.	Encyclopedia Biblica
E. O.	Ebhen Odem
E. Š.	Ebhen Šošan
Etym. St.	Etymologische Studien
Ges-B.	Gesenius-Buhl
Ges-K.	Gesenius-Kautzsch
gl	gleich, gleicher, gleiche
GR	Grammatik
idg	indogermanisch
I. E.	Ibn Ezra
j—a	jüdisch-aramäisch
Kl-G	Kluge-Goetze: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache
mhd	Mittelhochdeutsch
mtl	Mittellateinisch
nd	niederdeutsch
NF	Nebenform

NH	Neuhebräisch
nh	Neuhebräisch
nhbr	Neuhebräisch
N. H. T.	N. H. Torczyner
nnl	neuniederländisch
NT	Neues Testament
Sem-idg	Semitisch-indogermanisch
T. S.	Tur Sinay
Wz	Wurzel
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE TO "MARK 11.15-19: BRIGANDS IN THE TEMPLE"

GEORGE WESLEY BUCHANAN¹

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

PHINEHAS, the grandnephew of Moses, was reported to have stopped a plague against the people of Israel by killing an Israelite, Zimri, and the Midianite brought into his tent (Num. 25.6 ff.). The account in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezar*, 47, says that Phinehas was "stirred by a great zeal (וְקִנְיָה גְדוֹלָה); so he snatched the spear from Moses' hand" and ran after Zimri. This act of Phinehas is held to have "been reckoned to him as righteousness from generation to generation for ever" (Psalm 106.31). In Rabbinic literature (*Yalqut Shime'oni* to Numbers, paragraph 771, beginning of the section on Phinehas. Parallels are found in San. 82b and Sifre on Num. 25.4 ff.), Phinehas is specifically called a "zealot" because of this event:

"a priest, son of a priest;
a zealot, son of a zealot (קִנְיָי בֶן קִנְיָי)."

The resistance of Mattathias during the Maccabean revolt was compared to that of Phinehas. Mattathias the priest showed his zeal for the Law (ἐξήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ). He called all those who were zealous for the Law (πᾶς ὁ ζηλῶν τῷ νόμῳ) to follow him (I Mac. 2.26-27). In his deathbed speech, Mattathias reminded his sons of their forefather, Phinehas, who had preserved his zeal (ἐν τῷ ζηλωσάι ζῆλον ἔλαβεν) (I Mac. 2.54).²

There is a Talmudic passage which is relevant. The Mishnah reads:

"If a man steals a sacred vessel or curses by means of divination or has sexual intercourse with an Aramean, zealots (קִנְיִין) strike him down" (San. 9.6).³

¹ S. H. Scheuer fellow. I am grateful to Dr. Jakob J. Petuchowski for calling my attention to San. 106b and the reference in *Yalqut Shime'oni* to Numbers. Dr. Petuchowski and Dr. Morton Smith have both read this note and have made helpful suggestions for its development.

² See further William R. Farmer, "The Patriarch Phinehas," *Anglican Theological Review*, XXXIV (1952), pp. 26-30.

³ In all probability this mishnah was inspired by the action of Phinehas with Zimri and the Aramean woman. Numbers R. 20.25, however, assumes that the

The Gemara, interpreting this Mishnah, gives a lengthy description of Phinehas (San. 82a-82b).

In the light of these appreciative estimates of Phinehas as a "zealot," why, in another context, is there a reference to "Phinehas the Brigand"?⁴

"A certain *min* said to R. Hanina, 'Have you heard how old Balaam was?' He replied, 'It is not actually stated, but since it is written, "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days," [Ps. 55.24] [it follows that] he was thirty-three or thirty-four years old.' He replied, 'You are right. I personally have seen Balaam's Chronicle, in which it is said, "Balaam the lame was thirty years old when Phinehas the Brigand (פנחס ליסטאה) killed him"'" (San. 106b).

Is this the same Phinehas, Moses' grandnephew? Such seems unmistakably the intention of the passage, for Numbers R. 22.4

mishnah was known *before* the time of Phinehas and that Phinehas acted in accordance with it:

"Phinehas when he saw the act remembered the law: namely, that if a man cohabits with an Aramean woman he is struck down by zealots (Soncino translation)."

⁴ Dr. J. Perles, "Miscellen zur rabbinischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, XXI (1872), pp. 251-73, maintains that the *min* who asked the question was a Jewish Christian, and since it is generally agreed that at his death, Jesus was thirty-three years old, this should be understood as an allegory in which Jesus was considered "Balaam the lame." Then, Perles continues, we must ask, "Who was 'Phinehas the brigand' who killed him?" Trying to avoid reference to the Phinehas who was a contemporary of Moses, Perles says, "The epithet, 'robber,' for Phinehas, of whom it is not expressly testified that he himself killed Balaam is certainly strange" (p. 266). He calls attention to Rashi's interpretation of פנחס ליסטאה as שר צבא (military officer), thus describing Phinehas' true role and absolving him from being involved in highway robbery. Rashi may have understood שר צבא as an explanation of ליסטאה, but Perles thinks ליסטאה a disgraceful epithet. Therefore, he tries to avoid the application of it to Phinehas by changing the text from פנחס ליסטאה to פנחס פליסטאה. This, he says, refers to none other than Pontius Pilate. Even after Perles adds a פ to ליסטאה, he still has not spelled Pilate. Moreover, there is nothing in this passage to justify an allegorical interpretation. The age of Jesus at the time of his crucifixion is not known with certainty (see further "Dates, Discrepancies, and Dead Sea Scrolls," *The New Christian Advocate* [July, 1958], pp. 50-54); and it is not likely that every reference to a *min* in Rabbinic literature should be applied to Jewish Christians (See Hermann L. Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1910], pp. 47-80).

Perles' thesis is based on many assumptions that are not sound. Furthermore, the text as it stands makes good sense without an allegorical interpretation and therefore needs no emendation.

reports that the troops led by Phinehas killed both Balaam and the Midianites.⁵

That action which had earned for Phinehas the title, "zealot," would not seem here to justify the label, "brigand," at least in the usual sense of the word. Yet Strabo calls the soldiers led by Hasmonean rulers "brigands" (τὰ ληστήρια), and Josephus describes the zealots that fought against Rome in the First Revolt of the Jews as "brigands" (λησταί). Hence, the label, "brigand," apparently was not confined to highwaymen, but was also applied to *guerrilla warriors* by those who wished to refer to them in a derogatory way.⁶ Phinehas, then, was not a "brigand" in the ordinary sense of the term; rather his record is one of military activity, showing that he took the Law into his own hands and put a stop to the practice of mingling with Gentiles.⁷ For this attitude he was affectionately considered a "zealot" by Jewish nationalists of the Maccabean period. But those who compiled the Chronicle of Balaam, with which the *min* was acquainted, apparently had no sympathy for his zealous activity nor for the zeal of later Jews who took up the sword in his name.

The material relating to Phinehas provides additional evidence that *ληστής* was sometimes used in the Greco-Roman period of Jewish history as an epithet for a guerrilla warrior.⁸

⁵ Perles, *op. cit.*, p. 266, trying to show that San. 106b could not refer to the grandnephew of Moses, says that it is not expressly stated that Phinehas *himself* killed Balaam. The technical distinction Perles makes between the troops led by Phinehas and Phinehas himself is not valid. Kings and leading generals are frequently attributed the accomplishments of their troops. Herodotus (books VII, VIII, and IX) reports many of the maneuvers of the Persians, for example, as if these were the deeds of Xerxes. Another example is the boasting of Mesha, king of Moab, recorded on the Moabite stone. He claims to have triumphed over the house of Omri. He undoubtedly meant that his army overcame the Israelite forces (see J. B. Pritchard [ed.], *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955]), pp. 320-21.

⁶ For a collection of references in Strabo and Josephus, see "Mark 11.15-19: Brigands in the Temple," *HUCA*, XXX (1959), pp. 169-77.

⁷ See especially Sota 43a and Numbers R. 22.4.

⁸ In Mekilta, Shirata, are found two examples of military leaders who try to overthrow kings and are labeled "brigands." One is compared to Pharaoh when he resisted the Lord (Ch. 7, J. Z. Lauterbach edition, vol. II) and the other describes a group of brigands, some of whom were killed and others crucified (Ch. 10, *ibid.*).

ABRABANEL ON PROPHECY IN THE *MOREH NEBHUKHIM*

ALVIN J. REINES

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

INTRODUCTION

MAIMONIDES makes his fundamental statement on the nature of prophecy in seventeen chapters of the second part of the *Moreh Nebhukhim*, thirty-two through forty-eight. Of these seventeen chapters, Isaac Abrabanel* comments upon eight, the thirty-second through the thirty-seventh, the forty-second, and the forty-fifth. Our presentation will deal in detail with seven of these eight chapters, omitting the forty-second which serves primarily to expand material developed more fully in other chapters.

The following form will be taken by this work. A translation of every significant philosophic text that appears in the aforementioned chapters will be given. These texts constitute the fundamental part of the commentary. Therefore, unless necessary for general comprehension, Abrabanel's elaborate attempts to support the philosophic sections by midrashic manipulation of Scriptural and Rabbinic proof-texts have been omitted. Prefaced to each translation of a text is an introductory comment elucidating the point of the text. These introductory comments are required for the following reasons. The commentary, written as it is, in the form of a commentary, is dependent for intelligibility upon the reader having the relevant passages of the *Moreh* before him. These passages are supplied in the prefaces in translations required by the commentary. Also, the point of the text is often obscure, and, therefore, again in the service of intelligibility, the point of each section is explained in the prefaces. These points do not, of course, exhaust the contents of the translations themselves, and could not meaningfully replace them.

The translations of the texts of the commentary will not necessarily follow the order in which the texts themselves appear in the commen-

* For a discussion of the various spellings of the name Abrabanel, see B. Netanyahu, *Abravanel* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 261 f. Our spelling is simply a transliteration of the Hebrew spelling according to the rules followed by *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.

tary. The reason for this is that Abrabanel follows to a considerable degree a question-answer method in presenting his comments in which questions are not immediately followed by their answers, nor the answers themselves necessarily given in the order in which the questions were raised. Moreover, there are interspersed among these answers comments entirely unrelated to the questions. We have, therefore, rearranged the translation so that each question appears together with its answer, and the comments not presented in question-answer form appear in a logical order determined by the argument of the *Moreh*.

Generally considered, Abrabanel's commentary may be divided into three parts: his interpretation of Maimonides' view of prophecy, a criticism of this view, and a statement of his own theory of prophecy. A systematic presentation of these three divisions will be given in a concluding essay following upon the last chapter, the commentary to chapter forty-five. At that time various general and historical problems that appear in the commentary will also be taken up, so that the notes to the translation are limited primarily to textual considerations.

Two Hebrew texts of Abrabanel's *Commentary to the Moreh* have been utilized in preparing this translation. The first, entitled L in the notes, is that which was prepared by M. I. Landau. It appears both independently, Prague, 1831-32, and together with Samuel Ibn Tibbon's translation of the *Moreh Nebhukhim* and the commentaries of Efodi, Shemtob, and Asher Crescas, Lemberg, 1866. The second is a manuscript, Bodleian 2385, entitled A in the notes. The manuscript employed by Landau is unknown to us, but on the basis of the variations between L and A, it is most unlikely to have been the latter. These variations, when significant for the translation of the text, have been listed in the notes.

In citing L, the text principally referred to, the Lemberg edition is used according to the following system. The leaf number is given first, then the page of the leaf is indicated by the initials r. (recto) and v. (verso), referring respectively to the right- and left-hand sides of the leaf, and finally the column of the page is indicated by a. or b., referring respectively to the right- and left-hand columns of the page. The column reference is omitted where there is only one column on a page. Unless otherwise specified, the reference is always to the second part of the *Moreh*.

Translations given of the *Moreh* usually follow that of S. Munk, *Le Guide des Égarés*, Paris, 1856, 1861, 1866, and occasionally that of M. Friedländer, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, London, 1881, 1885.

However, Abrabanel's unique interpretations often require translations of the *Moreh* that vary considerably from those given in the translations above. When this occurs, the translation required by Abrabanel's interpretation is given and attention called to this fact in a note. Brackets and parentheses are employed to enclose words and phrases that have been added to the literal translation of the text. Brackets signify that the addition is necessary for the passage to have meaning, and its omission is to be attributed either to the brevity of the Hebrew style, or to a corruption of the text. Parentheses signify that the addition is unnecessary for the meaning of the passage, but is nonetheless an aid to clarity. A final general consideration, the term רב, *Master*, referring to Maimonides, is translated as Maimonides.

I. COMMENTARY TO CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

A. THE INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS

Of the seventeen chapters (*Moreh* II, 32-48) in which Maimonides discusses prophecy, four serve to introduce his definition of prophecy: in chap. 32 he classifies the different opinions on prophecy; in chap. 33 he discusses the revelation on Mount Sinai; in chap. 34 he presents an interpretation of Ex. 23.20; and in chap. 35 he comments upon Moses' prophecy. It is not until chap. 36 that the definition of prophecy is given. Preliminary to commenting upon chap. 32 proper, Abrabanel raises the question of why Maimonides presents these introductory chapters, inasmuch as it is proper for scientific writers to lay down definitions of their subjects at the very beginning of their investigations:¹

Why did Maimonides not lay down a definition of prophecy in this chapter at the beginning of his discussion, as other thinkers have done in their books and investigations? Thus you see that Avicenna, in his work, entitled the *Canon*,^{2a} presents a definition of medicine in the first chapter. Aristotle, in one of his books on practical philosophy² does the same; at the beginning of the

¹ The force behind Abrabanel's question is most likely Aristotle's discussion of the ultimate starting points of scientific investigation, among which Aristotle includes definitions of the basic terms used in the particular science being investigated. Hence definitions are required at the outset of scientific investigations, yet Maimonides waits until the fifth chapter of his inquiry into prophecy to define "prophecy," the most basic term in the discussion. Cf. Aristotle, *Analytica Posteriora*, I, 71, 1-72, 24; and W. D. Ross, *Aristotle*, p. 47 (New York, 1959).

^{2a} Rd. (l. 23) with A דקנון בנקון.

² Literally: וכן עשה המדין, *The political philosopher does the same*. As L. here points out, Abrabanel is referring to Aristotle. However, since Aristotle was more

Ethica Nichomachea,³ before all other matters, he gives a definition of the good, that it is the kind of happiness he would investigate in that work. Why, then, did Maimonides not do the same in the case of prophecy? Narboni,⁴ with reference to this situation, writes that Maimonides gives a definition of prophecy at the beginning of chap. 36,⁵ but does not explain his reason for doing so. (66r. a. 20)

Three comments are presented in answer to this question. In the first comment it is explained that there are three general opinions concerning the meaning of the term prophecy, but only one that is appropriate to the definition Maimonides lays down in chap. 36. Consequently, before giving his definition, Maimonides first had to state the general opinion to which he subscribes. This opinion, that prophecy comes only to the person who is intellectually and constitutionally prepared to receive it, is presented in chap. 32:

Maimonides saw fit to preface his definition of prophecy with these four chapters because his study of the subject required it. For inasmuch as there are different opinions concerning prophecy, it was necessary for Maimonides to state which of them was acceptable, in order to give the opinion he selects a definition suitable to it and in accord with its meaning. For how can prophecy be defined before we know to what the term refers? Thus Maimonides' definition, which he presents in chap. 36, does not suit the first opinion, because this definition is founded and based upon the principle that the theoretical preparation of the intellect and the natural⁶ preparation of the imaginative faculty are prerequisites of prophecy. Consequently, Maimonides was compelled to set down the opinion of people concerning prophecy, and also to disclose his own opinion concerning it, first, in order later to define it in accordance with the opinion he describes as his own. This is the purpose of this chapter, thirty-two. (66r. b. 26)

In the second comment it is explained that Maimonides' opinion, that prophecy requires preparations on the part of the prophet, is open to two

than a philosopher of politics alone, Abrabanel must be understood to be calling attention to the social nature of the *Ethica Nichomachea* rather than as limiting Aristotle to political philosophy. It is further possible that the term המדיני is corrupt, since elsewhere in the commentary Abrabanel always refers to Aristotle, if not by name, as הפילוסוף, the Philosopher.

³ *Ethica Nichomachea*, II, 2 (1094b, 10 ff.).

⁴ *Commentary on the Moreh*, II, 32.

⁵ Rd. (l. 26) with A ל"ל וגדר הנבואה יביאנהו בתחלה ל"ל for בזה בתחלה.

⁶ Rd. (l. 33) with A השבעיה for הטבעיה, which L erroneously corrects to והשפעה.

objections from Scriptural sources. The first is from the account of Mount Sinai, where the entire people of Israel, all of whom certainly were not prepared, are reported to have experienced revelation, which is a kind of prophecy. The second is from Ex. 23.20 ff., where the appearance of an angel, another kind of prophecy, is promised to the entire people, and again it is obvious that not all the people were prepared to receive prophecy. Hence, to meet these objections, Maimonides includes chap. 33, in which he tries to show that the experience of the people at Sinai was not revelation, and chap. 34, in which he tries to show that the appearance of the angel is promised only to the prophets:

Then, because Maimonides in chap. 32 lays down the principle that prophecy will in no way come to man without great intellectual and ethical preparations, to which someone can immediately object from the story of the Sinaitic revelation that all the Israelites reached the status of prophecy, and yet it is not within the realm of possibility for them all to have been prepared with the great perfection Maimonides describes as necessary for prophecy, and because this principle can also be objected to from the verse that appears in Scripture, "Behold, I send an angel before thee . . . Take heed of him, and hearken unto his voice" (Ex. 23.20), which indicates that all Israel saw the angel and heard his words, for the passage, as is apparent from its context, implies he would speak with all Israel, Maimonides was required to include chap. 32 to remove the objection from the Sinaitic revelation — He explains there that the degree of divine revelation to which the generality of the people attained was of low status, not absolute prophecy, and, therefore, they did not require great preparation — and chap. 34 to resolve the objection from the verse, "Behold, I send an angel before thee" — He informs us the meaning is not that the people would see the angel and hear his words, but that they would see and hear the words of a prophet, to whom the word of the angel would come. (66r. b. 36)

In the third comment it is explained that the fourth introductory chapter, thirty-five, is necessary to inform the reader that the definition laid down by Maimonides in chap. 36 does not include the prophecy of Moses, and should not be applied to it. For the term prophet is used by Maimonides with reference to Moses and all other prophets in absolute equivocality, and thus an essential distinction exists between them:

After Maimonides has resolved these difficulties in these chapters in order that his opinion, that prophecy requires preparations perforce, may be established, he sees fit to define prophecy. But he prefaces chap. 35 to his definition to let us know clearly

that the definition of prophecy he will give,⁷ and all the other statements he makes concerning it in the other chapters, include the prophecy of every prophet except Moses. For this definition is incorrect so far as his prophecy is concerned, as are the forms and degrees of prophecy he mentions afterward, inasmuch as the term prophecy is applied to Moses and all other prophets in absolute equivocality. Therefore, it is impossible for one definition or denotation to include them both. Then, after he has imparted this note of caution to us in chap. 35, he presents following it, in chap. 36, the definition of prophecy. This is the explanation of the logical connection among the chapters and why they were necessary. Herewith is the first comment resolved. (66v. a. 3)

B. THE THREE GENERAL OPINIONS ON PROPHECY ENUMERATED BY MAIMONIDES PREPARATORY TO HIS DEFINITION

In chap. 32, Maimonides begins his discussion with a summary of the three general opinions that are held by mankind concerning the nature of prophecy. In his opening statement, he compares them to the three opinions similarly held concerning the creation of the universe: 'The opinions of people concerning prophecy are like their opinions concerning the eternity and creation of the universe. I mean thereby, that just as those for whom the existence of God is clearly established, profess three opinions concerning the eternity and creation of the universe, as we have explained, so there are three opinions concerning prophecy.' In discussing this passage, Abrabanel raises the question of whether the comparison between the two sets of opinions is external, based only upon the fact that each happens to be three, or whether some internal relation exists between them as well:

Concerning Maimonides' statement, "The opinions of mankind concerning prophecy are like their opinions concerning the eternity and creation of the universe," this question arises: what relation or connection does Maimonides find between the opinions of prophecy and those of eternity and creation? Is it only with regard to their number, that the⁸ former were three and the latter three? This is in truth a very weak basis of comparison, since we find the number three in many very important matters; for example: the three divisions of existence, incorporeal Inteligences, celestial spheres, and transient beings; the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the three shepherds, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam; the three camps of graded sacredness,

⁷ Rd. (l. 6) with A נתן for יתן.

⁸ Rd. (l. 29) with A שהוא אלה for שהיו אלה.

Priests,⁹ Levites, and Israelites; as well as the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. There are numerous other instances besides these, yet Maimonides relates the opinions¹⁰ on prophecy to none of them, only to the opinions on eternity and creation.¹¹ (66r. a. 27)

To this question, the answer is given that Maimonides does base his comparison of the two sets of opinions on internal relations existing between them. The relation between the first opinion on prophecy and the first opinion on the creation of the world is that both prophecy and the world, according to these two opinions, are produced miraculously by the will of God alone:

Maimonides says the opinions of people concerning prophecy are like their opinions concerning the eternity and creation of the world, because the opinions he enumerates here follow from those on eternity and creation that he enumerates in Part II, chap. 13, and are related to them. For there he describes the first opinion as belonging to everyone who believes in the Law of Moses, namely, that God created the entire universe after absolute non-existence, without there having been present in the universe either matter or another being, and without the universe possessing any disposition whatsoever for the creation. It is in correspondence to this first opinion on creation Maimonides lays down that he presents the first opinion on prophecy, which he thereupon attributes to the "multitude of people of our faith." This opinion is that God chooses whomsoever He pleases from among people and causes the Shekinah to rest upon him. It makes no difference whether the man is wise or ignorant, for these people are of the opinion that the act of prophecy is something miraculous, like the creation of the world. Consequently, just as the creation of the world was brought about by the will of the Creator alone, without matter present prepared to receive it, so prophecy requires the will of God alone, without consideration as to whether the recipient is prepared for it or not. (66v. a. 13)

The relation between the second opinion on prophecy and the third opinion on the creation of the world is that both prophecy and the world, according to these two opinions, are produced by natural causes alone:

⁹ Rd. (l. 34) with A וכהנים for כהנים.

¹⁰ Rd. (l. 35) with A דעות for דעות.

¹¹ Rd. (l. 36) with A וחדושו for החדוש.

The third opinion which Maimonides enumerates in chap. 13 is the opinion of Aristotle, namely, that a thing cannot be produced from nothing, but that everything must come from some definite thing possessing the capacity for generation, and in addition, that there is no other but the natural order in the world. This opinion, just as it denies the creation of the world, so does it deny the occurrence of miracles and wonders. It is in correspondence to this opinion on the eternity of the world that Maimonides presents the second opinion on prophecy, the opinion of the philosophers. This opinion is that prophecy is a perfection present in the nature of man, it is not a miraculous event but a natural one, and therefore, it is attained through the preparation of the recipient. In this way, then, does this opinion concerning prophecy relate to and follow from the third opinion Maimonides mentions on the eternity of the world. (66v. a. 25)

The relation between the third opinion on prophecy and the second opinion on the creation of the world is that both prophecy and the world, according to these two opinions, are produced by natural causes in association with the special will of God:

As for the other opinion he mentions there,¹² it is the opinion of Plato. This is that God, blessed be He, created the world, not of nothing, however, but from a matter that had co-existed with Him from eternity.¹³ The Creator, blessed be He, is the cause of its existence, and [its relation to Him] is like clay in the hands of the potter, so that He creates of it what He pleases, at one time He fashions the heavens and the earth from it, at another time, He fashions some other thing. It is in correspondence to the Platonic opinion concerning the creation of the world that Maimonides presents the third opinion of prophecy, which is the one he selects as his own. This opinion is that prophecy does not occur without preparation, just as, according to the opinion of Plato, there was no creation except from a pre-existent matter, and also, that the will of God is a necessary condition for prophecy,

¹² *Moreh*, II, 13.

¹³ Plato, *Timaeus* 28B-30C. However, Abrabanel's account of Plato's theory of creation is clearly taken from the *Moreh*, II, 13, which contains the prevalent medieval distortion that Plato's creator, the Demiurge (*δευμιουργός*), is an omnipotent being who creates *ex nihilo*. In point of fact, Plato conceived the Demiurge to be neither omnipotent nor to create *ex nihilo*. See F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology*, pp. 34 ff., and S. Munk, *Le Guide des Égarés*, vol. II, p. 109, n. 3.

just as [according to the opinion of Plato], God exercised it in the act of creation.¹⁴

Thus I have explained that the three opinions of people on prophecy, once they have acknowledged its existence, correspond to those of people concerning the eternity and creation of the world, for the opinions on prophecy derive from the opinions concerning eternity and creation in the manner I have described. Herewith is the second comment resolved. (66v. a. 32)

C. ABRABANEL'S DISCUSSION OF THE FIRST OPINION OF PROPHECY

In his discussion of the first opinion of prophecy, Maimonides characterizes those who adhere to it as ignoramuses. In the following comment, the question is raised why Maimonides particularly uses the term "ignoramuses," which applies specifically to persons who are partially in error, rather than some such term as mistaken or confused, which would describe persons who are wholly in error.

With regard to Maimonides' statement, "The first opinion, which is¹⁵ the opinion of the multitude of ignoramuses among those who believe in prophecy, and some people among the members of our faith also believe it, is that God chooses whomsoever He wishes from among men and causes prophecy to rest upon him," the question arises as to why he attributes this opinion to a "multitude of ignoramuses." If, according to him it is in an incorrect and untrue opinion, he should say it is "the opinion of those who are mistaken," or "confused," or use some similar expression that applies to those who hold to incorrect and false opinions. He should not call them a "multitude of ignoramuses,"

¹⁴ Z. Diesendruck, in his article, "Maimonides Lehre der Prophetie," *Israel Abrahams Memorial Volume*, devotes considerable attention to the question of the propriety of this third analogy. The matter will be discussed in our concluding essay.

This comment of Abrabanel, comparing the opinions of prophecy and creation, is also offered by Isaac Arama, *Akedat Yizhak*, chap. 35, with the result that there is some question as to which of these men is the comment's original author. S. H. Wilensky, in an exhaustive discussion of the parallel passages that appear in Abrabanel's and Arama's works, *The Philosophy of Isaac Arama*, pp. 55 ff., maintains that Abrabanel excerpted this passage from Arama. However, B. Netanyahu, in a general discussion of the fact that parallel passages appear in the works of these two authors, (he does not discuss our passage), argues that the evidence for who took the material from whom is inconclusive, and that equal opportunity existed for Arama to excerpt from Abrabanel and vice versa, *Abravanel*, p. 295, n. 2. Our own opinion is that the evidence is inadequate for a definite judgment on the issue.

¹⁵ Rd. (l. 36) with A והוא for שהוא. Cf. text of *Moreh*.

a phrase used to describe those whose comprehension is inadequate, but not false. (66r. a. 36)

The answer to this question is presented in three parts. First, it is explained that Maimonides terms the adherents of the first opinion ignoramuses, a term used of those whose opinions are only partially false, because they are correct in attributing the origin of prophecy to God, but err in saying that it comes from Him miraculously, and therefore, that neither intellectual nor physical qualifications are required of the prophet:

You must understand that the fundamental principle of this first opinion is that prophecy is a miraculous event, the [direct] act of the First Cause, blessed be He. For this reason it is unnecessary for us to make the preparation of the recipient a condition of prophecy, since divine actions such as the performance of miracles are not prevented by reason of the lack of qualification of the recipient. Shall we say that Moses' staff was qualified to be turned into a snake when he transformed it by means of a miracle? Rather, He who created the world according to His absolute will, and who impressed upon it the natural order as it is, can change it as He pleases. Therefore, those who hold this opinion say that God can choose whom He wishes from among mankind and bring prophecy to rest upon him, and there is no necessary requirement so far as preparations are concerned. For it makes no difference whether that person is versed in speculative matters or ignorant of them, or whether he is older and mature of thought,¹⁶ or young, despite the fact that the Philosopher maintains that theology is not to be found among young men. Thus, because it belongs to the category of miracles, prophecy does not necessarily require the prophet to have an understanding of science, or to be of an elderly age, for even without these (qualifications) prophecy occurs through the will of the Giver, blessed be He. (66v. a. 43)

Second, the adherents of the first opinion are correct in requiring ethical qualifications of the prophet, but err here, too, by saying that ethical qualifications are the only ones required:

Maimonides does say of this opinion, "However, they do stipulate that he possess some goodness and some morality, for no person, until and including the present, according to this

¹⁶ Rd. (l. 4) with A רוב השנים או מיושב בדעתו for רוב השנים מיושב בדעתו A

opinion, has said that God will cause His Shekinah to rest upon an evil man, unless He has first brought him back to the good," because those who hold this opinion make a great distinction and dichotomy in the matter of preparations. For of the preparations¹⁷ the philosophers describe as necessary for prophecy, some are physical, for example, the perfection of the imaginative and other faculties, and some are intellectual, for example, the perfection of axiomatic and speculative concepts. All these things, say those who hold this opinion, are unnecessary for the existence of prophecy, since even without them God will cause His prophecy to come over the prophets in accordance with His will.¹⁸ However, there are other virtues¹⁹ that are necessary for prophecy, namely, the perfection of moral qualities, and still more, that the prophet be devoid of moral defects. Thus, the prophet cannot be someone who is steeped in sensuality, nor someone who takes property by violence, neither can he be a glutton, nor a winebibber. In short, he must be devoid of all defects, for in relation to a prophet there may be found only such characteristics as are wholly included in the good,²⁰ since otherwise, it is absolutely inconceivable that God should cause His Shekinah to come over him. For this reason, Maimonides says [that, according to the first opinion,] there must be found "some goodness and some morality" in the prophet, because God will not cause his Shekinah to rest upon a wicked person.

By his statement, "unless He has first brought him back to the good," Maimonides alludes to Obadiah, who was an Edomite, and who, after he converted and turned to the good, became worthy of prophecy.

Consequently, in view of this discussion, the main point of this first opinion is that the occurrence of prophecy is dependent upon the giver, God, and not upon the preparation of the recipient, that is, so far as the preparations the philosophers have declared to be necessary are concerned. (66v. b. 7)

Third, the adherents of the first opinion are correct in maintaining that prophecy comes from God, but err in saying that it comes from Him alone. For

¹⁷ Rd. (l. 11) with A מהכנות for מהכנות.

¹⁸ Delete (l. 14) with A והם שלמות המדות.

¹⁹ Perhaps rd. (l. 16) מעלות אחרות for מדות אחרות.

²⁰ Rd. (l. 19) with A כלו נכלל בסור מרע for L's מרע (צ"ל בסור) מרע.

Literally: *only such characteristics as are wholly included in that which is removed from evil.*

Maimonides believes that prophecy comes both from God, who is its remote cause, and the Active Intellect, who is its proximate cause. Moreover, since it is the Active Intellect which is the proximate cause of prophecy, it can only come naturally, for the Active Intellect, unlike God who can create *ex nihilo*, is a finite agent, and can only create from a pre-existent matter. In sum, then, Maimonides terms the adherents of the first opinion ignoramuses because their opinion is partially correct and partially in error; they are correct in attributing prophecy to God and in requiring ethical qualifications of the prophet, but they err in the following three points: 1) They say that prophecy comes from God to man directly, whereas it comes by means of the Active Intellect; 2) They say that prophecy does not require theoretical and physical qualifications, whereas it does require such qualifications; 3) They say that prophecy is a miracle, whereas it is actually a natural perfection:

Maimonides attributes this opinion to ignoramuses, and he associates some of the multitude of the people of our faith with these ignoramuses as well, because his opinion is that prophecy, despite the fact that the Creator, blessed be He, is its first cause, as He is the cause of all things, comes to man through the medium of an angel, namely, the Active Intellect. For when the soul and intellect of man unite with it, the effluence of this Intelligence pours over him. However, those who hold this first opinion have chosen the First Cause alone, without any intermediary, as the cause of prophecy. Hence they say²¹ that preparation is not a necessary prerequisite of prophecy, seeing that various acts of the First Cause have previously occurred without preparation²² on the part of the recipient, as in the creation of the universe. But Maimonides does not believe this is true in the case of prophecy.²³ For prophecy in his opinion is an effluence that pours forth from the Active Intellect upon the soul of the prophet, and therefore, the agent is determined by the preparation of the one who receives it. Prophecy, he believes, can occur in no other way.

Consequently, those who maintain this first opinion do not fall into error by attributing prophecy to the First Cause, blessed be He, for all things come from Him, nor by saying that God chooses whom He pleases (for prophecy), for the Philosopher says similarly²⁴ in discussing the flow of events from the First Cause that He is continually pleased with what the Active Intellect does,²⁵ but they display ignorance and a lack of knowl-

²¹ Rd. (l. 31) with A אמרו for אמר.

²² Rd. (l. 32) with A הכנת for הסבת.

²³ Rd. (l. 33) with A ענין הנבואה for שאין כן ענין הנבואה.

²⁴ Rd. (l. 37) with A כי כן יאמר.

²⁵ *Metaphysics*, XII, 7; cf. *Moreh*, II, 20.

edge in that they do not take the intermediary in prophecy, the Active Intellect, into consideration. And some of the multitude of the people of our faith follow these ignoramuses by following literal interpretations of Scripture. Therefore, some of the people of our faith are of this opinion, although others among us do take the intermediary into consideration.

In addition, ignorance and a lack of knowledge are evinced by those who hold this opinion, because they take into consideration that which is required of the agent for the existence of prophecy²⁶ but not what is required of the patient, that is, the preparation of the one who receives it.

And finally, ignorance and a lack of knowledge are evinced by those who hold this opinion, in Maimonides' view, because they classify prophecy as a miracle rather than as a natural event, owing to the difficulty and strangeness they see in the circumstances that surround its existence. Thus, because of these defective elements, Maimonides calls the first opinion the "opinion of ignoramuses." Herewith is the third comment resolved. (66v. b. 25)

D. ABRABANEL'S DISCUSSION OF THE SECOND OPINION OF PROPHECY

In five comments interspersed with quotations from the *Moreh*, Abrabanel sets forth Maimonides' discussion of the second opinion, the opinion of the philosophers. In the first comment he explains that the philosophers believe prophecy to be a natural perfection, which, like all natural perfections, exists first in a potential state. Thus prophecy only comes into existence after the potentiality for it has been realized by the prophet's acquisition of the necessary preparations:

The fundamental principles of this second opinion is that prophecy is a possible natural perfection belonging to the essence and nature of man. For this reason the Philosopher investigated it in the second chapter of his *De Sensu*.²⁷ He includes dream, divination, and prophecy in this treatise, since in his opinion, they belong to the same species and differ only quantitatively. And because prophecy, in his opinion, is a natural perfection, he states that it comes to man as all natural forms do, that is, when

²⁶ Rd. (l. 43) הנביא הנבואה.

²⁷ "The Philosopher" is a term used to refer to Aristotle. However, the work Abrabanel is referring to is the *De Sensu et Sensibili* of Averroes (ed. H. Blumberg, Cambridge, 1954).

the recipient is prepared to receive them. Hence Maimonides says, "But that perfection . . . comes only after study has brought forth to actuality that which is within the potentiality of the species." For if prophecy were not within the potentiality of the human species, a possibility belonging to man naturally, none among mankind would ever have attained to it, for the natural perfection that goes forth to actuality must have existed previously in a potential and possible state. And if it does not always go forth to actuality, it is prevented from doing so by some "dispositional obstacle," that is, the person's disposition is not qualified for it, or by some "external cause," that is, the afflictions of time, or other evils among those that befall mankind. (66v. b. 48)

In the second comment it is explained that, according to the philosophers, every person possesses some measure of the faculty of which prophecy is a function. Prophecy is merely the highest degree of the development of the intellect, and, according to the Aristotelian definition of man, the intellect is an essential property of every human being. Therefore, since every potentiality of a species is necessarily realized in an infinite span of time, (and the philosophers believe that the universe has existed from infinity), they believe that prophecy has at some time occurred. However, inasmuch as prophecy is the highest degree of intellectual development, they believe it has occurred but rarely:

[Maimonides makes the statement that] "it is impossible for a perfection" possible²⁸ in a species to "exist in its ultimate and final degree in every individual of the species." He says this with reference to the fact that the Philosopher considers the intellect employed in practical matters, the intellect employed in speculative matters, and the intellect that unites with the incorporeal Intellect, which is prophecy, to be one faculty, that is, the perfection of the human intellect.²⁹ One person will attain to a low degree of the perfection through a knowledge of practical affairs, another will attain to a higher degree of it through speculative matters, and still another will attain to the highest degree of the perfection, namely, prophecy. Consequently, there exists no

²⁸ Rd. (l. 10) with A באפשרי for האפשרי.

²⁹ Cf. *Ethica Nicomachea*, VI, 1, 5, 6. However, Aristotle makes no mention of prophecy as an intellectual perfection, and, in fact, in the *De Divinatione Per Sonum*, clearly indicates that it is not. Abrabanel's statement reflects neo-Platonized medieval thought generally attributed to Aristotle; cf., e. g., Avicenna's *De Anima*, V, 6, *Opera Avicennae*, Venice, 1508.

human individual in whom something of the perfection does not exist, be it to a small or large degree, inasmuch as it corresponds to the human form. However, this perfection cannot exist in its ultimate and final degree in every individual of the species, because the potentiality for it does not exist in certain kinds of disposition and preparation. Indeed, how can persons, who are ill-disposed and unprepared, attain to even one degree of the perfection!

But nonetheless, it follows necessarily from the basic principles of the Philosopher that the highest degree of this perfection shall have existed in at least one individual of the species. Thus Maimonides says, "But that it not exist in some individual is impossible," that is, for the perfection not to have existed in its ultimate and final degree in some individual. For if prophecy has never existed in any individual of the human species, its existence there must be considered forever impossible, since if it were possible, why should it be that nature has never been able to produce³⁰ it at any time in the infinite past? (67r. 10)

In the third comment, two further points of the philosophers' view of prophecy are given. The first is that prophecy, as a natural perfection, cannot come into existence without the required agent (that is, the Active Intellect, the governor of all natural activity in the sub-lunar world). The second is that prophecy cannot come to a person lacking in scientific knowledge, because the lower levels of the intellect must be realized before the highest one can be reached:

In addition, Maimonides says that if the perfection requires an agent for the attainment of any of its degree, namely, to bring it forth from potentiality to actuality, it is impossible for these degrees to be attained without such an agent. And because the perfection of prophecy is the ultimate and final degree of the perfections of the intellect, it is impossible, according to this opinion, for an ignoramus to prophesy. For how can a person attain to prophecy if he has not first passed through the primary degrees of the perfection, one of which is a knowledge of science? (67r. 17)

In the fourth comment, a question is raised concerning Maimonides' statement that, according to the philosophers, it is impossible for a person to go to sleep not a prophet and later to awaken as one. Inasmuch as Maimonides writes

³⁰ Rd. (l. 17) with A בהמציאו for מהמציאו.

earlier in the *Moreh* that forms come upon their substrata instantaneously,³¹ a person might conceivably go to sleep after having acquired the necessary preparations, and then receive the prophetic form instantaneously in the night. To this question, the answer is given that Maimonides here means a person cannot become a prophet unless he has first qualified himself for the office; that is to say, the form of prophecy may come upon him instantaneously, but the preparations for prophecy must come in time:

As for Maimonides' additional remark, "nor is it possible that a person should go to sleep not a prophet and awaken a prophet," it appears strange and difficult. For if the perfection of prophecy comes after preparations, as³² do other natural forms, and if it happens, as has already been explained to be the case, that the preparations come to be gradually in time but that the form comes in an instant, who can deny that a person may prepare himself for prophecy over a long period but that the form of the perfection comes upon him instantaneously? He would then go to sleep not a prophet, and yet awaken as one.

But the meaning³³ of this statement is, as Maimonides says following it, "as one who comes upon a find," that is, a person who comes upon a find in the street or square does so unintentionally; he does not prepare himself to come across it. Similarly, in chapter *Helek* there is written, "Three things come when not thought of, a find, a snake, and the messiah, may he come quickly in our day."³⁴ For a find comes when not thought of and without preparation or readiness, since a person chances upon a find when there is no hope of it in his heart. It is not in this manner, declares Maimonides, that a person goes to sleep not a prophet and awakens as one, unless he first have prepared himself many years to attain to this perfection, and hoped and looked forward to its attainment. Then, through such preparation and qualification, will he attain to it. (67r. 19)

In the fifth comment, an epitome of Maimonides' discussion of the philosophers' theory of prophecy is presented:

Thus Maimonides says, "But the matter is as follows, if a superior person is perfect as regards his intellectual and moral qualities," that is, through training in both speculative and practical matters, and there is joined to this the fact, that from

³¹ *Moreh*, II, 12.

³² Rd. (l. 20) with A בשאר for כשאר.

³³ Rd. (l. 22) with A נורת for כונת.

³⁴ *Sanhedrin* 97a.

the beginning of its physical formation his imaginative faculty also possesses the greatest perfection possible to it, so that it is able to receive this (the intellectual) excellence, and by this means he brings himself to the degree of preparation and qualification of which you shall hear; and then, along with this qualification, the thought and imagination of the prophet are directed toward the attainment of the knowledge of those matters for which he yearns; when all these elements are combined, that is, the ethical and rational qualities acquired through training, the natural perfection of the imaginative faculty acquired through its constitutional formation, and the qualification that the prophet direct his thought [to the subject concerning which future knowledge is desired], then the individual will necessarily prophesy, because this perfection, that is, the prophetic, comes to us naturally. Consequently, it is not possible for prophecy to exist³⁵ without the necessary preparations, nor for them to exist in a perfect state without prophecy also existing, "just as it is impossible for a man of a healthy disposition to eat good food without good blood and similar things arising from that food." (67r. 26)

E. ABRABANEL'S DISCUSSION OF THE THIRD OPINION OF PROPHECY

1. Abrabanel's comments to the third opinion appear in two parts. This opinion, which is Maimonides' own view, states that the existence of prophecy is regulated both by the special divine will and by human preparations. In the first part of his discussion, Abrabanel deals with the interpretation given by such students of Maimonides as Ḥasdai Crescas and Joseph Albo that the third opinion is composed equally of the first and second opinions, that is, they maintain that the condition of the divine will comes from the first opinion, and the condition of preparations from the second.³⁶ To this interpretation, Abrabanel interposes two objections: first, that if Maimonides really owed his opinion equally to the first and second opinions, he would not refer disparagingly to the proponents of the former as ignoramuses and respectfully to the proponents of the latter as philosophers; and second, that if Maimonides really were dependent in equal measure upon the two preceding opinions, he would not say only of the second one that it is essentially the same as his own:

³⁵ Rd. (l. 30) with A שִׁמְצָנוּ for שִׁמְצָא.

³⁶ Abrabanel's understanding of Crescas' and Albo's interpretations is on this point inaccurate. This matter will be further discussed in our concluding essay. Cf. notes 38 and 39 to this chapter.

A question arises concerning the third opinion Maimonides enumerates. It appears to be³⁷ composed of the two opinions which precede it in that it [apparently] takes the requirement of the divine will from the first opinion, and the requirement of preparation from the second. Thus the third opinion appears to be composed of the two of them. And this is the way it was understood by Rabbi Ḥasdai,³⁸ (Rabbi Joseph Albo), author of the *Ikkarim*,³⁹ and other philosophers from among our people, who concluded and decided that this⁴⁰ third opinion, which Maimonides selects as his own, is that prophecy requires natural and theoretical preparations on the part of the recipient, and the divine will on the part of the Bestower,⁴¹ blessed be He. But if this were the case, why would Maimonides attribute the first opinion to ignoramuses and the second to philosophers without calling them ignoramuses as well, seeing that the opinion of each of these groups falls short of perfection?⁴² Furthermore, why does Maimonides say that the third opinion is essentially the same as the opinion of philosophy except for one thing, instead of saying something like the following concerning the third opinion, as regards its relation to the second opinion, that is, inasmuch as it is composed of the two earlier opinions equally, he should say, "The third opinion, which is the opinion of our Torah and a fundamental principle of our faith, is composed of these two opinions, since it takes the requirement of the divine will from the first opinion, and the requirement of preparation from the second." (66r. a. 42)

On the basis of these two objections, the interpretation that the third opinion is composed of the first two is rejected. In its place the view is offered that Maimonides takes nothing from the first opinion, and that his opinion is based almost entirely on the second one. He takes nothing from the first opinion, because he believes that the role of the divine will is only to withhold prophecy from someone who is qualified to receive it, whereas in the first opinion the role of the divine will is to produce prophecy in someone arbitrarily chosen by God to be a prophet. And he bases his view almost entirely on the second opinion, because he agrees with it that prophecy is a natural perfection which comes only to the person who is qualified to receive it:

³⁷ Rd. (l. 43) with A ממנו היותו for שהוא.

³⁸ *Or Adonai*, sec. I, chap. 4.

³⁹ *Sefer ha-Ikkarim*, vol. III, p. 70; ed. I. Husik, Philadelphia, 1930.

⁴⁰ Rd. (l. 2) with A כפי for שהיה.

⁴¹ Rd. (l. 4) with A המשפט for המשפיע.

⁴² Rd. (l. 6) with A מקצר ואינה בשלמות for תקצר בשלמות.

The opinion Maimonides selects is that prophecy is a natural perfection of man, as you shall see from his own words in the many chapters following this one. Therefore, he says it is essentially like the opinion of philosophy, that is, prophecy is a natural perfection, and consequently, requires preparations perforce. But he does add to it one thing, the element of will he mentions. Therefore he says the third opinion of prophecy is "the opinion of our Law, and a fundamental principle of our religion," that is, "the opinion of our Law" with reference to preparation being necessary in prophecy, and "a fundamental principle of our religion" with reference to the element of the divine will he mentions, which is a great and fundamental principle in the realm of religion. An alternative interpretation is that he says "the opinion of our Law" with reference to the element of the divine will, and a "fundamental principle of our religion" with reference to the requirement of preparation.

You must understand that this opinion is not composed of elements taken from the first two opinions, and that Maimonides is not saying that the existence of prophecy requires preparations as well as the divine will, as the philosophers who came after him, and drank of the sea of his knowledge, thought. For in truth, Maimonides holds that prophecy⁴³ is a natural event, and does not consider the divine will to be a condition of its existence, because natural events occur regularly in the same way, and the element of the divine will does not enter in there.⁴⁴ Consequently, Maimonides does not say this opinion is composed of the first two opinions, for he takes nothing from the first one, neither⁴⁵ that the agent in prophecy is the First Cause alone, nor that prophecy belongs to the category of miracles, nor that prophecy is possible without the preparations required of a prophet, for all this, so far as he is concerned, implies ignorance and a lack of knowledge. His opinion then does not agree in any way with the first one, but with the second, the opinion of philosophy. Therefore, he says the third opinion "is essentially like the opinion of philosophy except for one thing," namely, we, the community of

⁴³ Rd. (l. 10) with A שהנביא for שהנבואה.

⁴⁴ Abrabanel does not mean to say here that natural events are not produced by the divine will. There is a distinction to be drawn between two kinds of divine will, the special divine will, which is the cause of miracles, and the general divine will, which is the cause of natural events. Abrabanel's point is that according to Maimonides the special divine will does not produce prophecy, although as a natural event, prophecy is ultimately caused by the general divine will.

⁴⁵ Rd. (l. 13) with A לא for או.

religionists, believe that someone who is fit for prophecy,⁴⁶ and who has duly prepared himself, will not prophesy at times by reason of the divine will. (67r. 30)

But neither does Maimonides agree entirely with the philosophers, he adds to their opinion the qualification that the divine will may intervene miraculously to withhold prophecy from someone who is prepared to receive it:

The divine will, consequently, is not a necessary condition for the existence of prophecy, but it is a necessary condition for its deprivation from someone who is qualified for it. Therefore, Maimonides is not saying that the existence of prophecy occurs in the same way as miracles do, but that it (the deprivation of prophecy) "is similar to all the miracles and occurs in the same way." For just as the existence of a natural object does not require the divine will, since it always comes about in the same way, whereas a change of the natural order is a miraculous act and due to the divine will, so in the case of the existence of prophecy, its nature is as described in the opinion of the philosophers, but its deprivation is the work of the divine will,⁴⁷ and this is the miracle.

Thus Maimonides' statement, "for the natural course is that everyone who is fit for prophecy by virtue of his physical constitution, and who has been properly trained for it by his education and his study, will prophesy," refers to the existence of prophecy, which is a natural occurrence. "As for the one who is kept from this," that is, someone prepared for it who is kept from prophecy, "he is like someone who is kept from moving his arm,⁴⁸ as Jereboam was, or kept from seeing, as was the army of the king of Syria in the story of Elisha." That is, the movement of the hand of Jereboam in its healthy state was something natural, there was no miraculous aspect to it, neither was it an act⁴⁹ of the divine will. Similarly, the sight of the Syrian army — if their eyes were healthy — was something natural, not miraculous, and no special act of the divine will. But the keeping of the ability from Jereboam to move his hand, or from the Syrian army to see Elisha and Samaria, this constituted a miraculous act and was due to the divine will. (67v. 19)

⁴⁶ Rd. (l. 18) with A שהראוי for L's ראוי שם, where שם is corrected to שמי שהוא.

⁴⁷ Rd. (l. 25) with A מפעל הרצון for הרצון.

⁴⁸ Rd. (l. 26) בירבעם for כירבעם; cf. text of *Moreh*.

⁴⁹ Rd. (l. 27) with A מפועל for מופעל.

In conclusion Abrabanel says:

It is clear from this discussion that the third opinion Maimonides enumerates here concerning the existence of prophecy is, with nothing added or subtracted, essentially the opinion of the Philosopher. For Maimonides absolutely does not add the divine will as a condition for the existence of prophecy, although he does lay down the condition of the divine will in the case where prophecy is withheld from someone who is prepared for it. This is what he adds to the opinion of the Philosopher, nothing else. (67v. 29)

2. In the second part of his discussion, Abrabanel takes up an objection to the third opinion advanced by J. Caspi, Narboni, and Efodi. This objection is that the third opinion does not express Maimonides' real sentiments concerning the subject of prophecy. Maimonides, they contend, is actually in full agreement with the opinion of the philosophers, but he presents a third opinion in order to conciliate public opinion, which would find the view of the philosophers excessively naturalistic. These commentators find grist for their mill in Maimonides' treatment of the proofs he offers in support of the third theory. He cites the case where Baruch is told not to ask for "great things" for himself (Jer. 45.5), which is interpreted to mean that Baruch is not to ask for prophecy. And presumably Baruch based his request for prophecy upon legitimate claims, since God could have otherwise rejected his request simply by stating that he was unqualified to receive it, whereas instead, He explains to Jeremiah that Baruch would not receive prophecy because it was an evil time. This, Maimonides says, shows that God keeps back prophecy from those who deserve it if the times are not propitious. However, immediately following this he says that another explanation might be given for why Baruch was refused prophecy, namely, that it was "too great" for him, that is, he was inadequately prepared. Maimonides treats his second proof, that the Jews did not receive prophecy during the exile, in a similarly contradictory manner. After suggesting that this was due to the fact that God arbitrarily withheld prophecy from them, he says that it might, however, be attributed to the fact that the Jews, because of their grief, became unqualified for prophecy during the period of the exile:

All the commentators to this chapter have commented upon the third opinion, and they are upset and perturbed over Maimonides' discussion with respect to the reason why he formulates a third opinion on this (subject of prophecy), as well as why he departs from the opinion of philosophy, seeing that he agrees with it in every way, and when, in addition, there cannot be found a verse from the Pentateuch, the Prophets, or the Hagiographa, that does not agree with it, or that cannot be interpreted in accordance with it. Certainly, those passages Maimonides

adduces to substantiate this third opinion from the rebuke administered to Baruch the son of Neriah, "And seekest thou great things for thyself?" (Jer. 45.5), and the verse, "Yea, her prophets find no vision from the Lord" (Lam. 2.9), [agree with the philosophers' view]. For, as proofs of the third opinion, they are completely refuted by Maimonides, who himself gives a rebuttal on behalf of the second opinion when he says,⁵⁰ "It is possible for us to say this is the explanation, that prophecy as regards Baruch was 'too great,' and similarly, that the situation described in the verse, 'Yea, her prophets find no vision from the Lord,' was due to their being in exile"; that is, Baruch was lacking in preparations, and therefore did not prophesy, and similarly, prophecy did not come in the exile "for impatience of spirit, and for cruel bondage," which means it was also due to a lack of preparation.⁵¹ Now if it is possible to interpret these verses in this way, we have no evidence at all for the third opinion, which indicates that it has no existence *per se*, and that Maimonides presents it only to pay deference to public opinion, whereas in his heart he neither believes it nor considers it to be true. And just as Joseph Caspi,⁵² Narboni, and Efodi [all] present this entire discussion in their commentaries *ad locum*, so do they all agree that Maimonides' opinion is an instance of the seventh cause "of inconsistency and contradiction in a book or an essay."⁵³ (66r. b. 11)

In defense of the third opinion, Abrabanel asserts that Maimonides' remarks were misinterpreted by the above commentators. Maimonides did not mean to imply that the evidence from the two Scriptural passages he cites can be rebutted, and therefore, that the opinion of the philosophers is reconcilable with Scripture, but that it does no good to rebut this evidence, since there are many other passages which support the same principle, that the divine will may withhold prophecy from someone who is qualified to receive it:

The commentators all inferred from this passage, "It is possible for us to say this is the explanation, that prophecy as regards Baruch was too great," that Maimonides is refuting the burden and premise of his argument, that is, he is refuting his [previous] statements by stating here that the interpretation of

⁵⁰ Literally: והנה הרב סתר דבריו ומקעקע הכל ושם תשובתו בערו, *For Maimonides refutes his statements, and overthrows everything, and produces an answer on its behalf when he says.*

⁵¹ Rd. (l. 21) with A ההכנה for הכנה.

⁵² *Maskiyyot Kesef*, chap. 32.

⁵³ Listed by Maimonides in the Introduction to the *Moreh*.

the scriptural verses he has given is not necessary, since they can be otherwise interpreted so as not to offer proof of this opinion. But in my opinion⁵⁴ they did not completely understand Maimonides' statement; for how can it occur to anyone he would say something and then contradict it immediately? Since, if he does make the earlier statement in order to pay deference to public opinion, what good does it do him if he turns from it at once and creates confusion?⁵⁵

But this is the interpretation of what this passage means. Maimonides says it is possible for us to say that prophecy as regards Baruch was "too great," and it would follow from this that Baruch did not prophesy because of a lack of preparation rather than on account of the divine will, and similarly, it is possible to interpret "Yea, her prophets find no vision from the Lord," to mean it was due to their being in exile, that the grief of the exile rendered them unfit, as the Sages remark, "Prophecy does not rest upon a person either⁵⁶ by reason of grief or slothfulness."⁵⁷ Thus it is possible for us to interpret these verses on the basis of a lack of preparation. "However," Maimonides continues, "we find many passages, some scriptural verses and some rabbinic statements, all of which proceed on the basis of this fundamental principle, namely, that God causes to prophesy whom He pleases, when He pleases," that is, we are not able to frame such an interpretation, nor are we at all helped by it, because we find many other proofs, from the words of Scripture and the Sages, all of which proceed according to this fundamental principle, namely, that the divine will may withhold prophecy, as has been described by Maimonides. And since the matter is clear from scriptural and rabbinic passages, it is improper for us to deny the true meaning of these verses and attempt to interpret them in this other way, inasmuch as we are still unable to deny the fundamental principle itself. (68r. a. 9)

Additional passages from Scripture are then cited which illustrate the principle that prophecy is regulated by the divine will:

And indeed, Maimonides found many verses which indicate the presence of the divine will. Moses, our master, said "would

⁵⁴ Rd. (l. 12) with A ולפי שהם for ולפי דעתו הם.

⁵⁵ Rd. (l. 15) וסכל את ידיו for וסכל את ידיו. Literally: *and confuses his hands*; cf. Gen. 48.14.

⁵⁶ Rd. (l. 19) with A מחר for לא מחר.

⁵⁷ Bab. Tal., *Shabbat* 30b.

that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put His spirit upon them" (Num. 9.29), that is, the matter was dependent upon His will. With reference to the seventy elders there is said, "and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, but they did so no more" (*ibid.*, 25); now if they were unprepared how did they ever merit prophecy, and if they were worthy of it by virtue of their preparation, why did they not continue to prophesy a second time, except that the Creator did not favor it? Similarly, the prophet Amos said, "The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?" (Amos 3.8), and cf., "I have also spoken unto the prophets, and I have multiplied visions" (Hos. 12.11), that is, the varying amounts of prophecy were due to the divine will, not to the preparation of the prophets. In addition, Amos says, "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdman, and a dresser of sycamore trees; and the Lord took me from following the flock" (Amos 7.14, 15); and the purpose of this verse can only be to inform us he was doubtful about his preparation solely because of the divine will. (66r. a. 26)

(68r. a. 37-68v. a. 1, omitted. Abrabanel here offers an exegesis upon the story of Baruch which upholds the interpretation that prophecy failed to come to him because of the divine will, and not because of inadequate preparations.)

Two general proofs are next presented for Maimonides' position that the divine will may withhold prophecy from someone who is qualified for it. The first is that there has never been a prophet among the non-Jewish philosophers, despite the fact they have been adequately prepared for prophecy. And second, prophecy has not occurred since the exile even among the Jews, although the conditions necessary for it have often been met:

Thus we see that despite all their perfection in moral and intellectual qualities, there has never been a prophet among the philosophers. Yet no one can deny there are such perfect men among them, and in addition, many similarly perfect with respect to the imaginative faculty from the beginning of its formation. Nevertheless, despite all this, prophecy has never come to them as it has to the prophets of Israel. Furthermore, we see that prophecy has not come to any nation since the Diaspora, and it cannot be said this is due to the Diaspora and the grief it brings, for the Jews have at various times been under the dominion of merciful kings and have been happy and joyful, each man coming to his place in peace. But the reason there has been no prophecy

is as the Haber said⁵⁸ to the Chazar king: no prophet has ever prophesied except in or for the sake of the land of Israel.⁵⁹ This agrees with the verse, "Her king and her princes are among the nations, instruction is no more; Yea, her prophets find no vision from the Lord" (Lam. 2.9), that is, even the prophets who were already prepared did not find visions because of the intervention of the divine will.⁶⁰ Therefore the Psalmist writes, "We see not our signs; there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long" (Ps. 74.9), for he mentions the three things that departed with the departure of the Shekinah from the Sanctuary: one, the signs and wonders that were performed there; two, the prophecy that departed from them; three, a knowledge of tradition and the true theology. Consequently, there is said "neither is there among us any that knoweth how long." (68v. a. 1)

In conclusion, Abrabanel summarizes his defense of Maimonides' position:

Hence the answer to the question raised in the final comment, that is,⁶¹ what compelled Maimonides to postulate a third opinion, is clear from this discussion without further elaboration, namely, that the nature of prophecy, as well as the verses from the Pentateuch and Prophets and the statements of the Sages, which he found, agreed with his opinion. And the statement he makes, "It is possible for us to say this is the explanation" etc., is no contradiction to what he has said previously, but a support as I have explained. Indeed, it is only because these scriptural and rabbinic passages do indicate that God causes to prophesy whom He pleases, when He pleases, that Maimonides offers the interpretation he does above, namely, that the [special] divine will enters into prophecy when it is withheld; and he offers this interpretation for no other reason.

As for the relation⁶² of prophecy to the [general] will of God, blessed be He, it is similar to that of other natural activities; they all come from Him and from His hand, and He continually takes delight and pleasure in His activities. But this perfection comes only to the superior person who is prepared for it, not to the ignoramus among the common people who are unprepared. It is as impossible for them to prophesy as it is for an ass or a frog. (68v. a. 16)

⁵⁸ Rd. (l. 8) with A שכתב for שאמר.

⁵⁹ *Kuzari*, II, 14.

⁶⁰ Rd. (l. 11) with A מה for השם.

⁶¹ Rd. (l. 16) with A מי for ר"ל מי.

⁶² Rd. (l. 23) ביחס אותה for ביחסה.

F. ABRABANEL'S CRITIQUE OF MAIMONIDES' OPINION OF PROPHECY

In his critique of Maimonides' opinion of prophecy, Abrabanel reduces chap. 32 of the *Moreh* to two propositions, both of which he attempts to refute. The first proposition is that prophecy is a natural perfection; the second is that prophecy requires preparations on the part of the recipient. Three arguments are presented against the first proposition. The first is that a natural perfection of the human species should be found wherever people are found, but prophecy has occurred only among the Jews, therefore, we must conclude that it is not a natural perfection but a miracle, which occurs only when God arbitrarily brings it into existence:

After setting forth Maimonides' opinion of prophecy, it is necessary for me to examine whether it is true and fitting according to the fundamental principles of our religion. Thus I say the primary principle upon which Maimonides built with the "line of confusion, and the plummet of emptiness,"⁶³ namely, that prophecy is a natural perfection which comes to the person qualified for it as natural forms come upon their substrata, is false, because prophecy is a miraculous event that comes [directly] from God, like other miracles, and it is not a natural occurrence. The nature of its existence proves this, for we find prophecy only among the Israelite people, and even there, only when they serve the most glorious God in the chosen land, and we find it under no other conditions. This proves that prophecy is not something natural, since it does not occur among all peoples, in all lands, and at all times. (69r. a. 50)

The second argument is that the prophets experienced intense and unusual reactions when they received prophecy, which certainly would not have occurred had it been a natural event. Thus Scripture tells us that the prophets became greatly terrified upon receiving prophecy. Moreover, the Israelites found it incredible that Moses had received prophecy, an incomprehensible attitude unless prophecy was a rare and supernatural event. And the Israelites themselves were greatly astonished to find they were still alive after the Sinaitic revelation, again a reaction which can be understood only if prophecy is a miracle:

Also the fact that the prophets were unusually frightened and terrified when prophecy came to them shows this, for example, there is said of Jacob when he saw the ladder, "And he was afraid, and said: 'How full of awe is this place! this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' " (Gen. 28.17); and when he witnessed the vision on the other sides of the Jabbok

⁶³ Isa. 34.11.

he exclaimed, "for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved" (*ibid.*, 32.31). Now if prophecy were a natural occurrence, why would he speak in such a manner? In addition, there was said to Moses at the vision of the burning bush, "Certainly I will be with thee; and this shall be the token unto thee, that I have sent thee" (Ex. 3.12), that is, his prophetic mission was so much the most important sign and miracle he could possess that he said "But, behold, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say: 'The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.'" (*ibid.*, 4.1), and, consequently, it was necessary to give to him the ability to produce signs. And if prophecy were a natural event, there would be no occasion for all these comments. Moreover, since prophecy is a miracle, it is said in the story of the Sinaitic revelation, "we have seen this day that God doth speak with man, and he liveth . . . For who is there of all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived?" (Deut. 5.21, 23); and if prophecy were a natural occurrence, how could they say this?

The truth of the matter is, however, that prophecy is not a natural occurrence, but one that belongs to the category of miracles. For every apprehending faculty has a fixed and definite relation to the object apprehended by it, but the human soul has no such relation or connection with the divine word so as to receive it naturally, and must do so, therefore, through a miracle.⁶⁴ Thus our master, Moses, says, "For these nations, that thou art to dispossess, hearken unto soothsayers, and unto diviners; but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee to do so. A prophet will the Lord thy God raise up unto thee, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me" (Deut. 18.14, 15), which shows that prophecy is an event that is the work of God by His [special] will, since it occurs among one people and is found among no other.⁶⁵ (69r. b. 7)

The third argument is that if prophecy is a natural perfection, why should prophecy of the same degree as Moses' not occur again, since there is no uniqueness among natural occurrences. (Abrabanel's argument here is somewhat misleading. Maimonides does not say that Moses' prophecy is a natural perfection, and the evidence seems to indicate that he may have considered it to be a miracle. However, Maimonides does not state his opinion explicitly, and Abrabanel here may be directing his argument to the ambiguity: that if Maimonides does consider Moses' prophecy to have been a natural occurrence, how can he say it is unique and will forever remain unique?⁶⁶)

⁶⁴ Cf. *Moreh*, I, 52.

⁶⁵ Rd. (l. 27) with A לא בשאר for L's לאפשר corrected to לא כן בשאר.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Moreh*, II, 34, and the conclusion of 45.

Thus, because it is a miracle, it is impossible for a degree of prophecy comparable to that attained by our master, Moses, ever again to exist, cf. "And there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses" (Deut. 34.10). And too, because his prophecy belongs to the category of miracles, there is written following this, "in all the signs and the wonders" (*ibid.*, 11). Now if prophecy is a natural event, why should someone equal to him never again arise? However, it is clear from Scripture that prophecy is not a natural occurrence, but a miracle. (69r. b. 27)

Three arguments are presented against the second proposition, that prophecy requires preparations. The first argument is derived from the previously established point that prophecy is a miracle. In miracles the natural laws of causation are suspended, and God creates *ex nihilo* as He did in the creation of the universe. As a miracle, therefore, prophecy requires no preparations, it is bestowed arbitrarily by God upon the person He chooses to receive it:

From this belief, [that prophecy is a miracle], there follows a second point, namely, that preparations are not necessary for the existence of prophecy as the philosophers, and those who follow them, have maintained. For only if prophecy is [considered] a natural perfection can preparations be [deemed] necessary, but when it is [considered] a miraculous event, the work of the absolute will of God, then [it is clear] that preparations are not required. For when God performs divine actions it is not necessary for the objects that receive them to possess a definite preparation as⁶⁷ do natural objects that act upon one another. But in whatever state they may exist, the divine will acts upon them according to His desire. (69r. b. 32)

The second argument is taken from the book of Amos. Here the prophet Amos denies that his ability to prophesy is dependent upon his possession of the requisite preparations:

The prophet Amos points this out when he says, "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son" (Amos 7.14), for the meaning of this statement is not that he was⁶⁸ not a prophet, inasmuch as he had prophesied against Jereboam (*ibid.*, 11), but that he was not prepared for prophecy, and that he was not a prophet⁶⁹ by reason of his preparation.⁷⁰ (69r. b. 38)

⁶⁷ Rd. (l. 37) with A כדברים for בדברים.

⁶⁸ Rd. (l. 40) with A יהיה for היה.

⁶⁹ Rd. (l. 41) הנביא for נביא. A omits הנביא, but provides nothing in its place, leaving the clause meaningless.

⁷⁰ Cf. 68 r. a. 35 f., where this verse is used as a proof-text in a similar argument.

The third argument is taken from the book of Joel. Here prophecy is promised in the Messianic era to the sons and daughters of the Jews. In the *Moreh*, Maimonides had interpreted the term prophecy in Joel as referring to logical procedures such as the drawing of inferences, because the children to whom prophecy is promised would not be old enough to be prepared in the manner he had described as necessary for prophecy. Abrabanel objects to Maimonides' interpretation on the basis that it is incredible to think Scripture would promise methods of prognostication akin in status to divination for the Messianic era. Moreover, he says, logical methods and divination exist even now, in the exile, whereas the kind of prophecy referred to in Joel is promised only for the future. Thus we must conclude, inasmuch as children are able to receive it, that prophecy does not require the preparations Maimonides describes as necessary:

This essentially is also the meaning of the passage in Joel, "I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh" (3.1), that is, the prophetic spirit. Therefore, there is expressly stated, "Your old men shall dream dreams. Your young men shall see visions," for these are the two kinds of prophecy, dream and vision. And because prophecy belongs to the category of miracles,⁷¹ there is said following it [with reference to prophecy], "And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth" (*ibid.*, 3). The astonishing thing about Maimonides is how, when discussing these verses, he could think to push them aside by words of falsehood, namely, that a diviner, or anyone who predicts the future through conjecture⁷² is called a prophet. Shall we say the promise of the prophet Joel is that in the time of the ingathering of the exiles Israel will include "one that useth divination, a soothsayer, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer" (Deut. 18.10), or one who foretells the future⁷³ through correct inferences? For the Torah proscribes divination, and consequently, how can it be promised for the time of prosperity? And the ability to conjecture, as well as the [drawing] of correct inferences exists at every time, even in the exile; thus how can there be said of it, "And it shall come to pass afterward" (Joel 3.1), and "In those days" (*ibid.*, 2)? Furthermore, how can this inferior knowledge be called the spirit of God, cf. "I will pour out my spirit" (*ibid.*, 1), for this expression is properly applied only to the prophetic spirit, which has departed from us in the exile. (69r. b. 41)

(*To be continued*)

⁷¹ Rd. (l. 44) with A *היה* for *היה* *היה*.

⁷² L has explanation, *ל שהוא משער את הנולד*, not contained in A.

⁷³ Rd. (l. 49) with A *שהיה* for *שהיה*.

THE GREAT MAGGID'S THEORY OF CONTEMPLATIVE MAGIC

J. G. WEISS, Institute of Jewish Studies, University College, London

IN THE bulk of writings which was handed down and printed in the name of R. Dobh Baer of Mezritch, the first theoretician of the Hasidic movement, a fully developed theory of speculative magic is discernible. It appears often, but by no means exclusively, connected with his theory of the religious leader (*Zaddik*) who is particularly supposed to make use of the methods prescribed by this speculative doctrine of magic which forms an integral part of the Great Maggid's system of magical idealism animated by the concept of contemplation as the highest religious activity.

I.

The point of departure of the Maggid's theory of contemplative magic is the underlying general concept of magical activity as being essentially metaphoric. From this point of view, magic brings about change in the state of things. This is perhaps the most comprehensive definition of possible magical operations and this concept carries with it great advantages for a theoretical interpretation of thaumaturgy in terms of medieval *Qabbalah* that the Great Maggid puts forward.

The speculative theory of magic of the Maggid is thus a doctrine about the nature of change, or as the texts sometimes term it in Hebrew, *Hishtannuth* (mutation). His central theme on the subject of mutation is the emphasis on discontinuity manifesting itself in change. Change in his perception bears the character of crisis — an instantaneous moment of disintegration in which the new event is already inherent. Change signifies, for the Maggid, a brief retreat of reality to the point at which it is all but annihilated. No change comes about without the object concerned retrogressing into non-existence, that is to the "sphere of nothingness." It is impossible to achieve mutation without the negative act of compassing the destruction of the object to be changed, even though this destruction is not an absolute one, but rather a momentary dissolution for the sake of a new creation. All things suffering mutation travel across the narrow brink of destruction into "nothingness."

The Maggid's concept of magical change is based on this mystical state of non-existence through which all things pass whenever they undergo change of any kind. Change, and by no means magical change alone, is but a re-creation, and there can be no re-creation unless this is preceded by destruction, even though such destruction is merely apparent, there being a new formation to follow at once. Things pass through the gate of annihilation into nothingness before undergoing any mutation, magical or otherwise. Thus magical change is but a particular case of change in general, and all instances of transformation, natural or magical, material or not, follow the same pattern.

The standard parable of the Maggid's illustrating this doctrine of disintegration and reintegration describes the transmutation of the egg into the chick, the application of which he extended to include all kinds of miraculous, *i. e.*, magical mutation:

Nothing can change from one nature into another [unless it be] like the egg from which the chick is produced. It must first be entirely abolished in its character of egg — that is to say, in its prior nature — before the other nature [of chick] can occur. Thus everything must undergo this, — it must come into the realm of nothingness [before] it can become another thing. And so with all miracles which involve a change in the [ordinary course of] nature, there must first be a removal of the Creator's influx [*histalkuth shif'ath ha-Bore'*] in the *Sephirah* of Nothing [*'Ayin*] and then [God] imparts his emanation [*mashpia' 'aziluthō*] in a miraculous fashion And at times, if one ties [*meqashsher*] the thoughts of one's friend to what is above [*lema'ala*]¹ one will be capable of changing the thoughts of the friend in any fashion one wishes.²

This mystical dissolution is thus not the physical destruction of the first thing but the momentary withholding from it of the continuous emanation; it is a mystical extinction for a fleeting instance. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the two levels, the physical and the metaphysical, merge and overlap in this theory of the miraculous change.

The distinctive feature which characterizes the Maggid's doctrine on the nature of change is his effort to locate the metaphysical point at which the process of annihilation occurs. The objects to be changed do not suffer a particular, isolated annihilation in their own physical

¹ This rather vague expression appears to indicate the same as "bringing into '*Ayin*'" in a more technical language.

² *'Or ha-emeth*, Zitomir, 1900, 39a. For a similar concept of change in early Kabbalah cf. G. Scholem, *Reshith ha-Kabbalah*, Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv, 1948, p. 139.

sphere wherever that might be; the destruction is a mystical-emanative one accomplished in a definite realm of the emanative Intellectual Universe which may be precisely charted. No sphere could be more appropriate for this suspension of the existence of objects undergoing mutation than the metaphysical region which is termed 'Ayin or Nought in the *Qabbalah*.³ Thus, the annihilation of the thing to be changed is understood as its momentary return to that upper realm which is located in the higher reaches of the emanative world. This amounts to saying that the nothingness to which individual objects succumb when undergoing change is none other than the metaphysical Nought ('Ayin) from which all things proceed.

The surprise, however, which meets the student of Hasidism is that the location of 'Ayin is not, as in traditional *Qabbalah*, at the very first phase of the divine emanations. That is to say, that for the Maggid, the first *Sephirah*, *Kether* is not the 'Ayin as it is everywhere in kabbalistic literature. In place of the first *Sephirah* we find that *Hokhmah*, the second *Sephirah*, is denominated 'Ayin by the Maggid.

The verse **והחכמה מאין תמצא** "And wisdom from whence shall it be found" (Job 28:12) which was in traditional *Qabbalah* interpreted to mean "Wisdom shall be drawn from 'Ayin," *i. e.*, that the *Sephirah* of *Hokhmah* is subordinate to 'Ayin and flows from it, while 'Ayin itself is *Kether*, is adduced on innumerable occasions by the Maggid as a *locus classicus* in a sense different from that recognized by any previous exegete. He takes the verse as evidence of the identity of 'Ayin and *Hokhmah*. It is worth noting that the Maggid does not take the credit himself by drawing attention to his departure from the kabbalistic tradition, nor does he appear to attempt any reconciliation of his new conception of the nature of 'Ayin with that of the orthodox *Qabbalah*, but passes over the terminological innovation in silence.⁴

³ On 'Ayin cf. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, London, 1955,² pp. 217-18.

⁴ Cf. G. Scholem, *Ha-bilti muda' u-musag Qadmuth ha-sekkel ba-sifruth ha-Hasidith*, Haguth, Jerusalem, 1944, p. 148. Only very occasionally does he insert a comment which shows that his identification of *Hokhmah* and 'Ayin was due to no "error" in his understanding of the sephirotic system of the *Qabbalah*, and that he was, on the contrary, well aware of the very original step he had taken. Sometimes he would leave his own radically new interpretation to one closer to the traditional one: "*Hokhmah* is near to 'Ayin," *i. e.*, not quite identical with 'Ayin, cf. 'Or ha-'emeth 73b, **זה ידוע שאות' היא המצומצמת וקטנה מכל אותיות כי נאמר והחכמה מאין** [לאין ומכרת ברוממותו תמצא מפני שהחכמה קרוב[ה] לאין ומכרת ברוממותו]. This kind of compromise between his new formula and the traditional one is extraordinarily rare, however, and in general he is content to express his view without apologies of this sort.

In the Maggid's writings, the region of *Hokhmah* is defined as 'Ayin — Nothing — not because *Hokhmah* is so remote that the mind cannot grasp it even in the most exalted contemplative activity,⁵ but because there are no contradictions in it or, to put it more exactly, because there all contradictions vanish, it being the point of their virtual annihilation, of their subsequent equilibrium and happy co-existence. *Hokhmah* is that region in the unfolding of the world of emanation, to which the name *coincidentia oppositorum* might fitly apply — there all discords are resolved, all contradictions are brought into an all-embracing unity. Since it is the *matrix* of all subsequent emanations in the Intelligible Universe — emanations which involve varied and even contradictory forces — it stands to reason that such contradictions would be already latent in the region of *Hokhmah* although here there is no question of their clashing in mutual annihilation.

The new turn in early Hasidism is that the system of R. Dobh Baer now defines this emanative zone of *Hokhmah* as the metaphysical 'Ayin.

The zone is to be conceived as the meeting place of two 'Ayins, (a) the individual 'Ayin which occurs at that instant wherein everything that changes is momentarily annihilated, and (b) the metaphysical 'Ayin belonging to the process of emanation.

II.

The question now arises as to the method by which the object is brought to the point of destruction. It must, as it were, be transported to this metaphysical zone of 'Ayin to be destroyed there. This transporting is accomplished in pure contemplation without any actual change of place. The act of contemplation reveals itself as a truly magical feat, or at least one which involves magical effects. If by means of a contemplative concentration, the return of things to their source in the metaphysical 'Ayin can be achieved, the restoration of objects to the zone of *Hokhmah* or 'Ayin represents their *reductio ad infinitum* by the means of contemplation, their reflux to the point at which they become extinct. Only since they have thus been destroyed in the exterminating climate of the metaphysical 'Ayin, are they afterwards capable to re-emerge by way of re-emanation — now in a new form, in accordance with the intention and will of the

⁵ This is the favorite motivation why the first *Sephirah*, *Kether*, is called 'Ayin in traditional *Kabbalah*.

adept in the art of magical contemplation. The Maggid very briefly expresses this twofold process of regressus and egressus in the following words:

"They do the will of the Omnipresent." That is to say that they both do and overthrow His will for good. For, by the initiative from below, they bring what exists into nothingness ('*Ayin*) and there in the '*Ayin* they convert it (lit. overthrow it), so that when it returns to [the region of] existence, it is the reverse.⁶

But here is the more detailed exposition of this self-same process:

... And evidently you will be surprised at what we have found,⁷ that the prayer of the righteous resembles a shovel [lit. '*Ether* cf. the term '*Athirah* for prayer and entreaty] which overturns [things and] even the thoughts in the mind of the Holy One, blessed be He, in keeping with that saying, "Who rules over me, the righteous . . ."⁸ And how is it possible that the speech of the *Zaddik* can ascend so high that it can produce a further change? Has not the utterance of God become His Wisdom which animates us, as it is written "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made" (Ps. 33:6). If so, how does it come about that the *Zaddik's* utterance may so far ascend that it transforms even the thoughts of God, blessed be His Name?

And the answer is that it is well known that the whole formation of the world is accomplished by means of *Hokhmah*, as it is written "And all of them Thou hast made by *Hokhmah*" (Ps. 104:24), and we see with our own eyes that *Hokhmah* establishes together and in peace even such contrary things as the elements [*Yesodoth*]; for were it not that *Hokhmah* were between them, then fire and water could not dwell together, and, nevertheless, we find that they combine. And all this is because *Hokhmah* is in between. And everyone sees the '*Ayin* in *Hokhmah* and, therefore, does he not vanquish its fellow, for it recognizes that '*Ayin* is its vital principle . . . And all radicals in the world cannot exist without *Hokhmah*, that is to say, '*Ayin*. And we see clearly that there can be no chick from the egg until the egg is utterly diminished and momentarily enters the gate of nothingness [*rega' ehad be-sha'ar ha-'ayin*]. And afterwards it may be changed from an egg into a chick. And, therefore, is *Hokhmah* termed *koah-mā*⁹ which is '*Ayin*, and it is the *hyle* of the whole world . . . therefore, in it is mutation [*hishtannuth*] accomplished.¹⁰

The hylistic nature of *Hokhmah*¹¹ enables it to be the hidden

⁶ 'Or ha-'emeth 29a.

⁷ Bab. Yebhamoth 64a, Bab. Sukkah 14a.

⁸ Bab. Mo'ed Qatan 16b.

⁹ Zoharic etymology of *Hokhmah*.

¹⁰ 'Or ha-'emeth 29a.

¹¹ שחכמה מקרי כ"ח מ"ה והוא אין והוא היולי של כל העולמות 'Or Torah, 1804, 117a; and שחכמה מחברת ב' דברים והוא ההיולי כנודע 'Or ha-'emeth, 53b.

treasure-house of all possibilities: all change must pass through the ontological phase of *Hokhmah* since all things are derived from it; all things were once contained within it as mere potentialities, before their actualization in the subsequent phases of emanation.¹² Thaumaturgical contemplation serves to restore objects to their source *in potentia* within the sphere of *Hokhmah* = 'Ayin. Thus it is that thaumaturgical contemplation moves along the route of emanation — but in the reverse direction: it proceeds upwards instead of downwards. If a magical change is to be brought about in the material creation, the whole route has to be retraced back to the ontological point of nothingness — 'Ayin — where it is possible to achieve the mystical annihilation of the thing that requires change or rectification and then, again, it can be made to descend in the desired direction. This work is not effected by supplicatory prayer, but through the exalted concentration of contemplative thought. The Maggid is not embarrassed about declaring how far the nature of this magical discipline is removed from prayer:

The *Zaddik* may bring about change whenever he wishes and the High Priest could only do this on the Day of Atonement.¹³ The difference between Israel and the nations of the world is that they cannot bring about change [*hishtannuth*] but merely move [objects] from place to place¹⁴ — which does not apply to Israel, for they cleave to Him [*debhēkim bō*] blessed be His name, and they are able thus to return [things] to the source of sources whence all things are formed. And He, be He blessed, on account of His love, alters [things] at all times from evil into good even without prayer being offered, like that [story] of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa who merely revealed His will.¹⁵ And this is the meaning of that verse "He does the will of those who fear Him." (Ps. 145:19) And

¹² The double character of *Hokhmah*, being nothing ('Ayin) and at the same time everything (the *hyle* of the whole world) means, in other words, that *Hokhmah* is everything *in potentia* and nothing *in actu*. R. Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk, a disciple of the Great Maggid, formulated this double character of *Hokhmah* in the following fashion: *כי השרש ההוא הוא כולל את כל כחות העליונים וממנו מתפשטים ענפים אחרים, אבל השרש: בעצמו אינו אלא הכנה ולא שום דבר בפני עצמו* (*Peri Ha-arez*, 1814, p. 19a). As it is well known, *hukhanah* in medieval philosophical parlance means potentiality or disposition.

¹³ Changing the thread of crimson wool tied to the door of the Sanctuary into white, cf. Mishnah, Yoma VI, 8.

¹⁴ The relation between change and locomotion goes back to Maimonides, cf. his summary of the Aristotelian doctrine of change, and its four categories, *Moreh Nebhukhim*, part II, Introduction, Proposition iv.

¹⁵ Cf. Mishnah Berakhoth V, 5.

hence too that saying¹⁶ "Israel is not subject to planetary influence" [which may be read to mean] "'*Ayin* is the planet which rules Israel," which refers to *Hokhmah* which is called '*Ayin* as it is written (Job 28:12). "And *Hokhmah* is found from '*Ayin*," and from thence were all things formed¹⁷

The fact that, in the Maggid's theory, magical activity consists of contemplative thought rather than prayer, receives powerful expression when magic is described as the work of the human mind within the orbit of the Divine mind. Contemplative thought is none other than Wisdom (*Hokhmah*) according to the traditional equation of *Qabbalah*. This is the key to the understanding of the passage by the Maggid in which he emphasizes the fact that pure thought accomplishes miraculous effects:

"And Hannah was speaking to her heart" (I Sam. 1:13). Which means that she wanted to do [*i. e.*, achieve] something that was not according to nature and so she did not want to pray with [actual] speech for "the heavens were made by the word of God" (Ps. 33:6) — they are the "lower worlds"; and when one wishes to accomplish anything against the [order of] these worlds, it behooves one to do it by thought alone,¹⁸ for therein all is unity.¹⁹

In spite of the different terminology — the omission of all reference to *Hokhmah* or '*Ayin*, for which he substitutes *Maḥshabbah*, Thought — we have here before us an account of magical activity which wholly accords with the general thaumaturgical doctrine of the Maggid.

In general it may be concluded that the great Maggid in his concept of the function of the charismatic leader (*Zaddik*) aligned himself emphatically with theoreticians of speculative magic. He is far removed from what we may term a "normal religious" standpoint. The "religious" point of view is not founded on inevitable causality as magic is, but on a concept of divine freedom within which God either answers or rejects human pleas. Students of religion have observed truly that it is the idea of Divine freedom that essentially differentiates magic from religion.

In none of his homilies does the Maggid see this difference clearly and the *Zaddik* in his writings appears as a contemplative magician

¹⁶ Bab. Shabbath 156a, Bab. Nedarim 32a.

¹⁷ 'Or Ha-'emeth 55b.

¹⁸ במחשבה לעשות הדבר in which phrase *maḥshabbah*, thought, means both human mental activity (as opposed to actual speech) and the zone of emanation which corresponds to the second *Sephirah* called generally, in the *Qabbalah*, *Hokhmah* and also, though less frequently, *Maḥshabbah*.

¹⁹ שם הכל אחדות. 'Or ha-'emeth 6a.

who performs his works on the assumption that they will obviously succeed if only he is sufficiently careful to carry out the rules of the mental game. No doubts or hesitations are expressed on this by the Maggid, and the principle of contingency does not apply to the magical operations of the *Ẓaddik*. Paying no attention to divine freedom, the *ẓaddikology* of the Maggid thus remains confined to the region of thaumaturgy and does not set foot in that region of humble religious belief which, in contradistinction to the infallible categories of magic, employs the conditional mode of *perhaps*.

III.

It is profitable to observe that one of the pupils of the Great Maggid, R. Elimelekh of Lizensk, who reduced his master's *ẓaddikological* teachings to their most practical level, nevertheless seems to deserve the credit for having brought about the first "religious" deviation from the Maggid's magical doctrine of the *Ẓaddik*. He is reported as having expressed the ideas of freedom and necessity with a lucidity and fineness of distinction which might serve as a classic example to the student of religion seeking to define the boundaries between religion and magic. The *Ẓaddik* and the *magician* appear in this homily as two contradictory types, notwithstanding their superficial similarity. The difference between them, as observed by R. Elimelekh, lies in the fact that the magician conceives his operations as working within the realm of strict causality founded on physical necessity, whilst the *Ẓaddik* realizes the non-coërcive character of his activity. This is why the magician would not be taken by surprise at the success of his magical operation which indeed is merely a rational technique leading to anticipated conclusions, whereas the *Ẓaddik* would marvel at the success of his work which is not dependent upon the proper carrying out of a technical procedure:

As I have heard from my Master and Teacher the saintly Rabbi now deceased, Elimelekh, blessed be the memory of the righteous and the holy, on the verse "Give for yourselves a sign" (Ex. 7:9) that, in the case of sorcerers when they do any operation by means of their magic arts, this is not a source of wonder to them for *they know well enough that, when they perform their witchcraft, such and such a result inevitably ensues*; but the marvel exists only to the others who do not know how the magic was performed. And then the wonder is only at the way it was done not at the result produced, for the result *follows inevitably [mukhrah liheyoth] from the thing which is operating in the witchcraft*.

But this does not resemble, by any imaginable mode of com-

parison [lit., it is unlike as pure from impure by a thousand million distinctions], the works of the *Zaddik* and his prayer when they achieve some result or other; for then the result is marvellous also in the eyes of the *Zaddik* [in that] God hearkens to his prayer for it is *no necessitated* [result] [*ēno mukhraḥ*]. And that is the meaning of the verse "Give for yourself a sign" [*i. e.*, "Make a wonder for yourselves"]: that Pharaoh said to them that they should do something "whereby I will know that you are yourselves rapt in wonderment at it and then I shall know for a certainty that God hearkens to your prayer."²⁰

Thus arises a break with the magical concept of the *Zaddik*. This new turn not only means that the *Zaddik* is no longer a mere operative (as in the Great Maggid's account of him), but that he is essentially a man of prayer. This turn was possibly introduced by the writer of the tradition, R. Kalonymos Kalman of Cracow, the pupil of Elimelekh, whose book *Ma'or Va-shemesh* is permeated with such religious, *i. e.*, anti-magical tendencies. Indeed R. Kalonymos himself was one of the outstanding leaders of the reaction against the concept of the *Zaddik* as a magician towards a concept of the *Zaddik* as a spiritual guide. Yet R. Elimelekh's authorship of the argument in the above passage, on the difference between freedom and necessity, is confirmed by a parallel of this homily as preserved in the treatise *Ohebh Yisra'el* of R. Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apt, another disciple of R. Elimelekh, who records the saying in this abbreviated form:

And I have heard from the mouth of my master and teacher, the sainted Rabbi . . . Elimelekh, may his memory be for a blessing, that sorcery is a remarkable novelty only for those who lack the ability to do it. But, for the sorcerers themselves, the matter is, as is well known, not marvellous. But the miracles and wonders done by the prophets, they are also a marvel and a great wonder in their own eyes. And to this [point Scripture alludes when it says] "When Pharaoh will say: 'give for yourselves a sign' . . . meaning that you should do something which should be a sign and a wonder for yourselves and 'thereby shall I know it is a miraculous thing and of Divine wisdom . . .'"²¹

The Maggid's position was still circumscribed by the limits of speculative thaumaturgy; the crumbling of this pattern beneath the pressure of "religious" tendencies which fixed a new line of demarca-

²⁰ *Ma'or va-Shemesh*, portion *Miketz*, beginning passage, (ed. 1942, p. 33a).

²¹ *Ohebh Yisra'el*, portion *Va-era*, Zitomir, 1863, p. 27b.

tion between magic and religion or, in other words between sorcerer and *Zaddik*, began after the close of his generation.

The decline of the magical arrogance implied in the old theory did not start with R. Elimelekh's disciples. The liability for the tremendous change which occurred at this time in the Ḥasidic concept of *Zaddik* may not primarily be R. Elimelekh's. But the nucleus of this distinction between freedom and necessity in the sphere of the miraculous could be found in a covertly psychological form in R. Elimelekh's own words in his *No'am Elimelekh*. True, nothing is said there of an essential distinction between the inevitable and the arbitrary as in the pertinent formulation recorded by his pupils; but he deals in a rather more simple fashion and by means of elementary psychological categories with the surprise experienced by the man "learned in miracles," when the miracle occurs:

"When Pharaoh shall speak unto you [saying] 'give for yourselves a wonder' " (Ex. 7:9.) The word *lakhem* [to you] is not the right expression since he should have said "give *for me* a wonder" — for certainly Pharaoh wanted them to give *him* the sign. Furthermore, one might cavil [and say] that, after they had shown him the staff converted into a serpent, and the magicians had done likewise, what need had Pharaoh for a [special] hardening of the heart, as it is written "and the heart of Pharaoh was hardened" (Ex. 7:13); it surely follows that, after we had seen that the magicians could do the same, he would not require any "hardening of the heart."

But it seems obvious that, in the case of a man learned in miracles for whom the Holy One Blessed be His Name performs a miracle at any time — it is always for him a novelty and wonderful in his eyes. Even though he sees God always doing miracles for him, nevertheless, he notes it as a great prodigy. But he that does something remarkable once by means of sorcery and the like, when he repeats it a second time, it is for him nothing new at all, since he has done it by himself once before. And this is what God, Blessed be His Name, said: "When Pharaoh shall speak unto you saying 'Give for yourselves a wonder' " — the meaning is that you should do a wonder of a kind which should be also a marvel and a novelty for yourselves. Such will be of a certainty the word of God . . .²²

Another disciple of Elimelekh, Reuben Halevy Hurvitz, testifies to the radical change which occurred at this time in the Ḥasidic con-

²² *No'am 'Elimelekh*, towards the end of portion *Va-era* (Slavita, 1794, p. 47a, New York, 1942, p. 68b). A parallel passage on the continuous surprise of *Zaddikim* at miracles done by God, but without the illuminating contrast to the certainty of the sorcerers see *No'am 'Elimelekh*, *Va-yera* (Slavita, p. 13a. New York, p. 17a).

cept of *Ẓaddik*. In a formulation which is a patent polemic against the magical concept of the *Ẓaddik*, he describes the function of the latter as essentially supplicatory and not magical:

Though we may find several *Ẓaddikim* who perform miracles and wonders [*nisim ve-nislaoth*], nevertheless one should not err, heaven forbid, since truly there is none like the Lord our God . . . and if it puzzles you [*yiksheh lekhā*] how it comes about that the *Ẓaddikim* perform miracles and marvels [*nisim u-mofthim*], indeed the truth is that the *Ẓaddikim* do nothing but pray to God the Creator, blessed be He, and He performs miracles for them, but the real action [*ikkar ha-peullah*] is done by the Creator, blessed be He.²³

In the light of this emerging new concept of the praying *Ẓaddik*, the contours of the magical *Ẓaddikology* of the Great Maggid and of his magical theory in general are thrown into sharper relief.

²³ *Dudaim ba-Sadeh*, p. 27a. A similar passage, clearly a re-interpretation of the Great Maggid's theory and formulae of magic in terms of his own anti-magical religiosity is to be found in *Dudaim ba-Sadeh*, p. 13ob.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORATED MEZUZAH

FRANZ LANDSBERGER

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

DURING the time I was in charge of the Jewish Museum in Cincinnati, I acquired a number of beautiful Mezuzot. This led me to investigate when these tiny ritual implements developed into their present shape and, furthermore, when and how they came to be objects of art.

It is well known that the use of the Mezuzah rests upon the twice expressed command (Deut. 6.4-9; 11.13-21) that the essentials of the Jewish faith be written upon the doorposts of the house and upon the gates. That command might have been taken figuratively¹ like the admonition to the young man who is told, regarding the parental commandments which he is to obey:

Bind them continually upon thy heart,
Tie them about thy neck (Prov. 6.21).

Those commands of Deuteronomy, however, were — we know not when — construed literally, perhaps because of a related Hebrew phenomenon which they suggested. The first Temple had, on each side of its portal, a bronze pillar which obviously carried an inscription. One of these pillars was named Boaz; the other, Jachin (I Kings 7.21). The significance of these names has been debated.² Yet there can be no doubt that they were names of exalted religious import; at the entrance of the Temple, all comers were to be impressed with the omnipotence of God. That which stood at the entrance of the Temple was extended to the private dwelling in the form of the Mezuzah.

Still, it is not entirely clear how the Deuteronomic command was to be understood in detail. "Doorposts," in the plural, could apply only to the two posts flanking the abode's entrance. Ever intent upon a strict interpretation of their ordinances, the Jews became inclined

¹ It was so construed by the Karaites.

² The usual translation of Jachin is: "He (God) will establish," and of Boaz: "In Him (God) is strength." However, in his *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1953, p. 139, W. F. Albright discerns, in those names, the opening words of dynastic oracles. Albright conjectures that the complete formula of Jachin may have read: "Yahveh will establish the throne forever," and that the Boaz formula may have read: "In Yahveh's strength the king shall rejoice."

to attach a Mezuzah to every door in the house, no matter how many rooms. Meir of Rothenburg had twenty-four Mezuzot in his domicile.³ Such a large number could hardly have proved conducive to the ornamentation which we shall presently discuss, since the ornamentation of one Mezuzah necessitated the ornamentation of all the others.

"Gates," in ancient times, must have meant the gates of the city. The city, already at an early period, had a surrounding wall, and gates leading through the wall. With advancing urbanization, the Mezuzah may have become attached to other gates, for example, the gates of courthouses such as those mentioned in Yoma 11a. From the obligation to have a Mezuzah, religious edifices were exempt; the edifice itself made those entering aware of the Divine Presence (Ber. 47a). In the Second Temple, only the Nicanor Gate bore a Mezuzah, for the reason that, behind it, lay "the cell of the counsellors" (Yoma 11a).

How the Mezuzah was originally attached to doorposts and gates, we are not entirely clear. Was the inscription written directly on the building, or was it attached separately as in later usage? The ancient Egyptians are reported to have had, at the entrance of the home, the inscription of some sacred adage. It has been surmised that this custom may have been borrowed by the Israelites.⁴ In Palmyra, Syria, there has been found a door lintel of the third Christian century with the Jewish creed of Deut. 6.4-9 in Hebrew letters (Illust. 1).⁵ The grandeur of that portal suggests a synagogue, but the synagogue, as we have heard, did not require a Mezuzah. That portal may have belonged to some large secular edifice, possibly one of the above-mentioned courthouses. All this warrants the surmise that the text of the Mezuzah, perhaps in an abbreviated form, stood inscribed directly on the door or on the gate. Owing to the complications of the procedure, as well as to the subsequent expansion of the text, the requisite words would stand on a piece of parchment.

Such a strip of parchment would come rolled up in such a way that

³ Cf. Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition; A Study in Folk Religion*, New York, 1939, p. 146.

⁴ This is the opinion of J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Edition in three volumes, Vol. I, Boston, 1883, p. 361. Moreover, there still prevails, in modern Egypt, the custom of having on the doors of houses, the inscriptions of certain sayings, such as, for example, "He (God) is the great Creator, the Everlasting." Cf. E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Vol. I, 1871, p. 73.

⁵ Cf. Samuel Landauer, "Ueber die von Euting in Palmyra gefundene Synagogeninschrift," in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1884, pp. 933 ff. Further, E. Mittwoch, *Hebraeische Inschriften aus Palmyra, Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, 1902, pp. 203 ff. And, finally, Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Vol. II, 1953, p. 84.

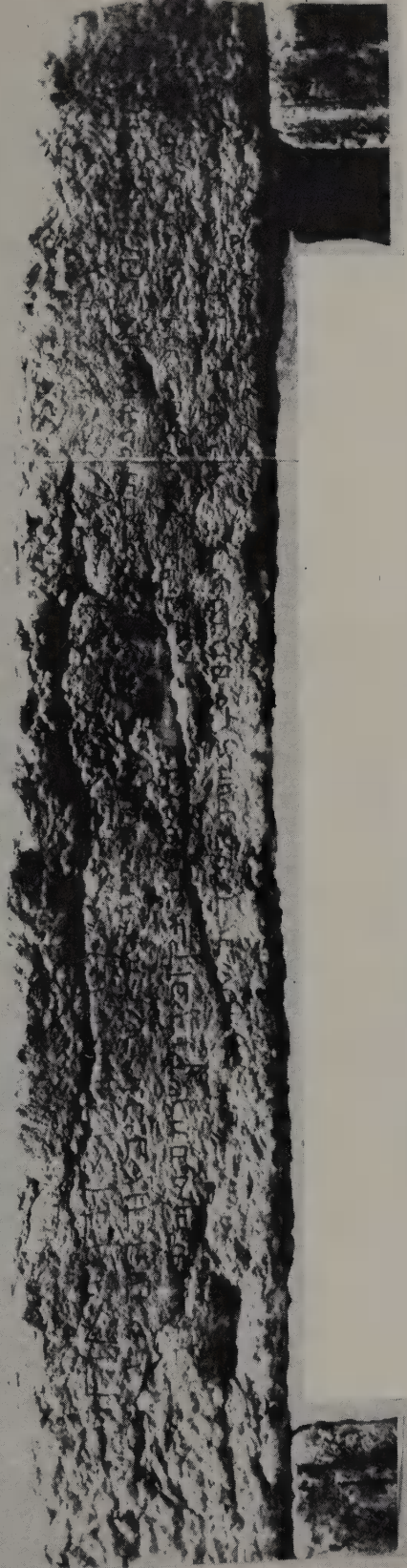


Illustration 1. Doorlintel from Palmyra, Syria, inscribed with the Jewish Creed.

the inscription was on the inside, the empty side lying outward. Thus was the inscription protected. The writings of the non-Jews were on scrolls likewise. The difference was that the Jews have, down to the present, clung to scrolls for such of their sacred literature as were read aloud in the synagogue, while the non-Jews have, since the second century of the present era, substituted the codex, the type of book in common use today.

We now raise the question how the roll was attached. Originally the method seems to have been to place the roll in a cavity scooped in the doorpost. This procedure is mentioned in the little tractate *Mezuzah* (II, 10). Maimonides (1135-1204) still regards this as permissible.⁶ To us, such a thing seems strange — boring a hole in a post as a place for storing. But we have a visible demonstration of this usage. About ten years ago, E. L. Sukenik published an account of a stone (Illust. 2) which was once part of a synagogue in Palestinian Caesarea.⁷

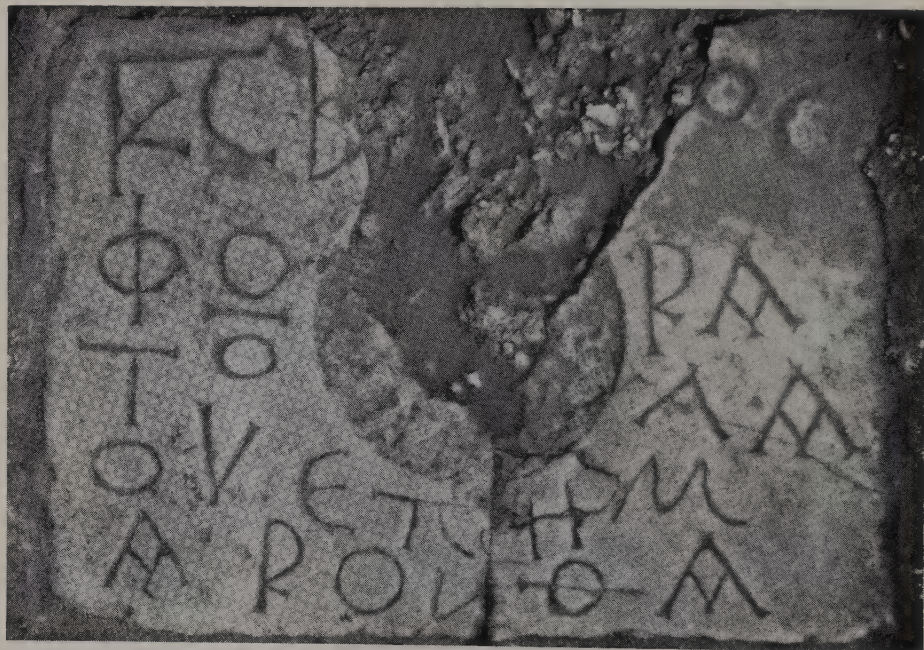


Illustration 2. STONE WITH CIRCULAR CONCAVITY FROM THE
SYNAGOGUE IN PALESTINIAN CAESAREA.

⁶ Cf. *Yad Haḥazakah*, *Hilkhot Tefillin u-Mezuzah we-Sefer Torah*, V, 6. For directing my attention to this and to some other passages, I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Jakob J. Petuchowski.

⁷ Cf. *Bulletin II of the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem, 1951, plate XVI.

Engraved on this stone are the Greek words: "O God help! The donation of the people in the time of Marutha." (Marutha was probably the head of the synagogue.) The stone shows a perfectly circular concavity in which, according to Sukenik, there was kept "a candelabrum or something similar." My surmise is that there was kept not "a candelabrum or something similar," but rather the Books of Moses on a number of scrolls, or perhaps one scroll containing the entire Pentateuch. At the time when the synagogue was not yet equipped with a fixed cabinet for the Torah, the Torah would, after the service, be carried outside the synagogue and, as in our case, placed in that concavity. Similarly, a small niche in the doorpost of the home may have admitted the Mezuzah.

The tractate Mezuzah (II, 10) also mentions the practice of enclosing the Mezuzah in a "hull" (שפופרת). There is nothing unusual about this custom. The scroll of the Torah was likewise protected either with a mantle or, as in the Orient, by enclosure in a chest of wood or metal. That the incasement of the Mezuzah was, in the Talmudic period, an innovation is indicated by the fact that it was a matter of debate. Rabbi Meir (second century of the present era) favored it; Rabbi Judah (third century) objected. That was, nevertheless, the usage which came to prevail. The result was the tendency to give the container artistic embellishment. Originally, however, the container was completely plain — a botanical reed⁸ or a closed receptacle of wood or metal.

The ordinance of the Mezuzah was regarded as a constant admonition to be mindful of God and His laws. But, as early as Talmudic times,⁹ there came to be associated with the Mezuzah, the apotropaic intent of safeguarding the inhabitants of the house by barring the entrance against evil spirits.¹⁰ During the Middle Ages, with their mystic tendencies, this conception came to be held with growing intensity.¹¹ The increasing perils of Jewish life and hostile surroundings likewise generated a deepening concern for protection. What could be more likely than making the Mezuzah an expression of this solicitude? This was achieved by placing on the hitherto blank side of the roll the word שרי, the Almighty, a word often inscribed on amulets. This was

⁸ Leone da Modena (1571-1648) in his *Riti Ebraici* (II, 2), still mentions a reed as suited for holding a Mezuzah roll.

⁹ 'Aboda Zara 11a; Menahot 33b; J. Peah I, 1 (15a).

¹⁰ For the belief that the threshold must be guarded against the entrance of evil spirits and for the extension of that belief among other peoples, see J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, III, London, 1918, pp. 1 ff. "The Keepers of the Threshold."

¹¹ Cf. Joshua Trachtenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 ff.

further accomplished by adding certain touches to the text written on the inner side. For example, to various lines of the text were added the names of certain angels; in the Bible already there is imputed to the angels the role "to keep thee in all thy ways" (Ps. 91.11). Five-pointed or six-pointed figures would stand sketched in the Mezuzah's margins; the six-pointed star was deemed especially potent.¹²

A protagonist of this usage was Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz, an Ashkenazic Rabbi of the twelfth century, in his *Sefer Yere'im*, Amud Ha-yir'ah, No. 18 (ed. Wilna, 1881, 18b): "To enhance the security of a dwelling, it is customary to supply, in the Mezuzah, at the ends of lines, certain seals and the names of certain angels. This is neither forbidden nor commanded. Its purpose is merely that of greater security." By contrast, there was, among the Sefardim, outspoken protest against that innovation. According to Maimonides,¹³ "Those fools are not satisfied to make nothing of a commandment. They go so far as to take the great command pertaining to the unity of God, the love and the worship of God, and to treat it as an amulet for their personal advantage." Maimonides sanctions nothing more than the word שדי on the side that is otherwise blank. This has remained, while the addenda on the text side have completely disappeared.

As a result of this development, what happened to the container? While, in its oldest form, the container has no opening, the newer form is supplied with a round or rectangular orifice through which peers the word Shaddai (Illust. 3).

New conflicts were generated by that exposure of the Divine Name. The Name was regarded not as a mere piece of writing; it happens often in religion that a word gets supposed to be imbued with a divine potency. A word can be honored; but, were it to look upon something unseemly, that word would be desecrated. Moses of Coucy, a French Rabbi of the thirteenth century, points the way out of this difficulty: "If the Mezuzah is intended for a room occupied by small children, I cover the opening of the Mezuzah with a little wax."¹⁴ The *Shulhan Arukh*¹⁵ lays down the rule: "In a place where there is filth, it is well to keep the Mezuzah covered." In the *Ture Zahav*, a commentary on the *Shulhan Arukh*, David b. Samuel Halevy (ca. 1586-1667), discussing

¹² Compare V. Aptowitzer, "Les noms de Dieu et des anges dans la Mezouza" in *Revue des Études Juives*, Vol. 60, 1910, pp. 38 ff. Further, Gershom Scholem, "The Curious History of the Six-Pointed Star," in *Commentary Magazine*, VIII, 1949, pp. 243 ff.

¹³ *Yad Haḥazakah*, *Hilkhot Tefillin u-Mezuzah we-Sefer Torah*, V, 4.

¹⁴ *Sefer Mizvot Ha-Gadol*, Positive Command, No. 23.

¹⁵ *Yore De'ah*, *Hilkhot Mezuzah*, par. 286, No. 5.

that passage, observes that the covering of the Divine Name applies, by extension, to the bedchamber of the wedded. A singular procedure! But we must recall that, in Eastern Europe, the sacred pictures of the Christian house-altar receive a covering when something unseemly is to take place in their presence.¹⁶

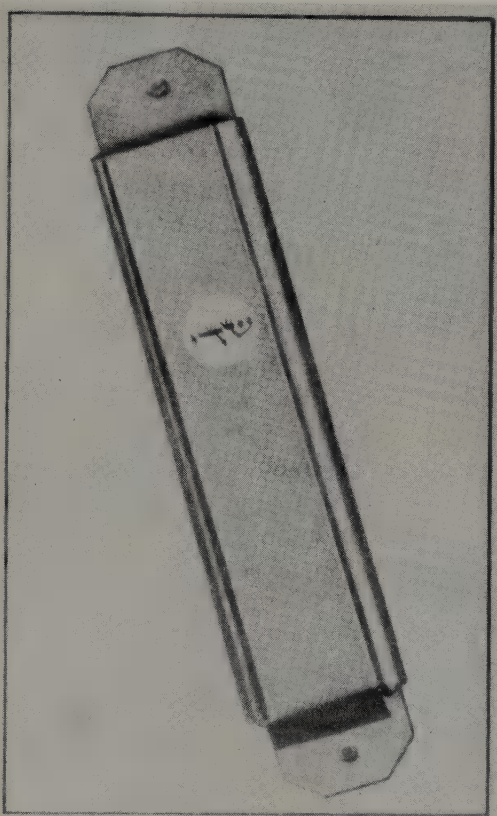


Illustration 3. MEZUZAH WITH A ROUND ORIFICE THROUGH WHICH THE WORD *Shaddai* APPEARS.

Instead of covering with wax — hardly an ideal solution — there sometimes came into use the device of placing, over the orifice through which the Divine Name appears, a kind of doorlet the wings of which could, as occasion demanded, be closed or opened. The beautiful Mezuzah originating in 1800 or a little later is an example (Illust. 4).¹⁷

¹⁶ Ludwig Feuerbach, *Vorlesungen ueber das Wesen der Religion*, Leipzig, 1851, p. 233.

¹⁷ A related Mezuzah is to be found in the Jewish Museum of New York.



Illustration 4. SILVER MEZUZAH WITH SHUTTERS. AROUND 1800.
Museum of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

Let it finally be noted that originally the container of the Mezuzah stood on the doorpost in a vertical position as recommended in the Shulḥan Arukh, Yore De'ah 289, 6. Others preferred it horizontal. Isserlein, in his commentary on the passage, urges the sloping position as a compromise between the two.

So much for the development of the Mezuzah into its present form. What about its beautification? Concerning phylacteries, based upon the same Biblical verses as the Mezuzah, we hear about case overlays of gold. This is reported in the Mishnah, a source dating from the third century of our era.¹⁸ About further adornment, nothing is reported for almost a millennium and a half. From the seventeenth century, not any earlier, there have been preserved silver and golden receptacles in which phylacteries were kept when not in use.¹⁹

Was it likewise with the Mezuzah? As regards the inscribed parchment, artistic attempts are discernible from an early date. The Talmud (Men. 31b) quotes a remark of R. Joḥanan bar Nappaḥa (died 279): "A Mezuzah is permitted if it is written with two or three or even one word [to the line]; provided the writing does not form a tent (קובה) or a tail (זנב)." This obviously refers to an ornamental style of writing familiar already to the Romans who would write out poems in such a way that the lines, by their varying lengths, formed the shape of some object such as an altar, a double-axe, a shepherd's flute, or a Cupid's wing. Poems thus shaped were called *carmina figurata*.²⁰ This practice, like many another Roman practice, evoked Jewish imitation. The Jews would, here and there, write out the text of the Mezuzah in like manner. Why the form of an animal's tail is to be avoided needs no explanation. As for the tent, the word *Kubbah*, while it means a vaulted tent, also means a place of prostitution. On a Mezuzah, this would, as a matter of course, not be allowed. The practice of fashioning various figures out of letters persisted in Jewish writings for a long time. For example, in Biblical codices, such was done with the marginal Masorah when its words were no longer commonly understood.

When this playful kind of writing disappeared from the Mezuzah, we do not know. That selfsame passage, Men. 31b, mentions writing in a column, in the manner of the Torah. It needs no telling that such writing had to be done with utmost care. One's Mezuzah was not to be written by one's self. One purchased it from a professional scribe who

¹⁸ Megillah IV, 8.

¹⁹ Such a one, chased with flower patterns, was on display at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in London, 1887. Catalogue No. 1851.

²⁰ Cf. Theodor Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 286.

saw to it that the inscription was not something printed but that it was handwritten on parchment, and that every Mezuzah had twenty-two lines, and every corresponding line the same number of words, thus making a regularized structure (Illust. 5). The Mishnah (Men. III, 7) asserts that the lack or the malformation of a single letter would

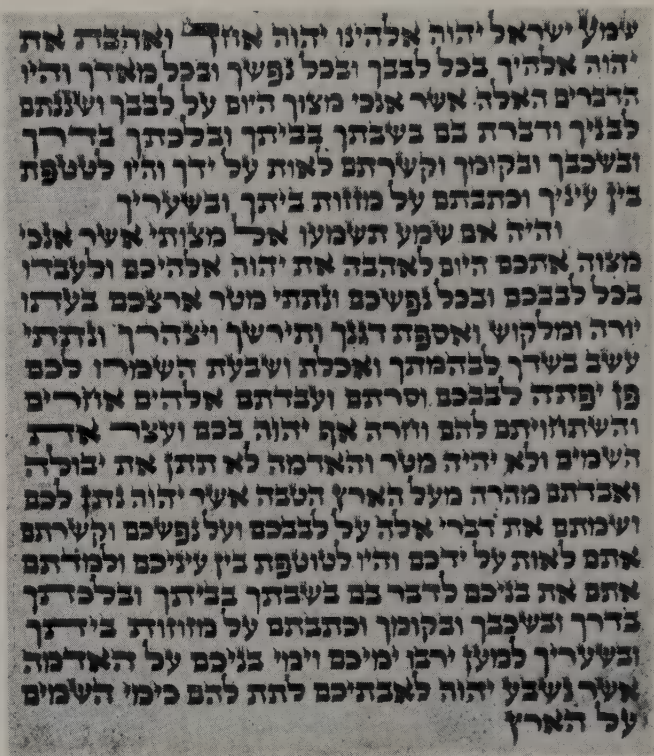


Illustration 5. MEZUZAH TEXT, WRITTEN ON PARCHMENT.

render the Mezuzah unusable. The manifestation of religious zeal through punctilious penmanship is a Jewish characteristic.

We come now to the adornment of the container. Before elucidating this, we must consider an object which has been regarded as a Mezuzah, but erroneously so. In the Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, there is a four-cornered terracotta which has been described by Rabbi Alexander Scheiber (Illust. 6).²¹ Scheiber has interpreted its Greek inscriptions to read: "God is one," "Holy," "the Helper." This,

²¹ In *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 48, 1957, pp. 6 ff.

beyond question, indicates religious utilization. But why must the object be a Mezuzah? Two of the perforations in the terracotta are alleged to have served for fastening the object to a doorpost. But, through those perforations, a cord might as readily have been drawn for fastening around the neck. No, the object is not a Mezuzah. It is an amulet worn during life, and hung around the neck of the dead.



Illustration 6. AMULET, ERRONEOUSLY CALLED
A MEZUZAH.

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts.

Indicative of this is the palm branch. Psalm 92 says that "the righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree." That is why Hellenistic Jewish grave inscriptions often show a palm branch in their embellishment.²²

Something must be said about yet another object, this time really

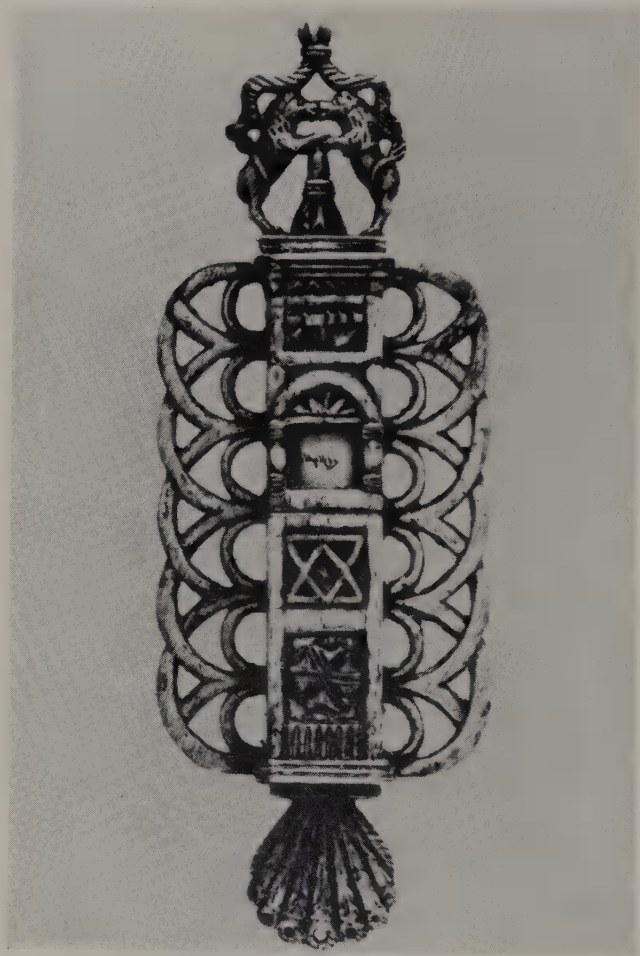


Illustration 7. IVORY MEZUZAH.
London, Jewish Museum.

a Mezuzah which, if correctly dated, might be regarded as the oldest ornamental Mezuzah extant. This one is to be found in the Jewish Museum of London (Illust. 7). It has been explained as a product of the

■ Cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, Vol. VIII, 1958, pp. 121 ff.

late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century.²³ But that dating is incorrect. Beginning with the palmetto at the lower end, and ascending to the garlands spreading over the two lions, everything shows the neo-classical taste dominating the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In a previous essay²⁴ I have shown how recent was the ornamentation of some Jewish cult objects, such as the breastplate and the pointer. Barring the golden phylactery cases of antiquity, our oldest ornamented phylactery cases are known to date from the seventeenth century. Could it have been similarly with the ornamented Mezuzot, namely that, in the fifteenth century or the early sixteenth century, they were not yet in existence? In some quarters there was hesitancy



Illustration 8. DUTCH MEZUZAH.

Illustration from Bernard Pickart, *Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde*, 1723-29.

on this score as late as the seventeen hundreds. In his *Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde* which appeared in 1723-29, Bernard Pickart supplies the picture of a Mezuzah in Holland (Illust. 8). The container has the form of a staff with a number of bulgings. There is no other ornamentation. The container lacks even the little window exposing the Divine Name; owing to the scruple,

²³ Cecil Roth in his article on the Jewish Museum in London in the periodical, *The Connoisseur*, September-October 1933; also in his book, *The Jews in the Renaissance*, Philadelphia, 1959.

²⁴ Compare my article, "The Origin of European Torah Decorations," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXIV, 1952-53, pp. 133 ff.



Illustration 9. WOODEN MEZUZAH WITH MOSES
HOLDING THE TABLETS OF THE LAW. RUSSIA.

no doubt, to avoid everything that might give the Mezuzah the character of an amulet. The same happened in England, to which the Jews, after a long period of expulsion, were in the seventeenth century readmitted. In his *Hebrew Ritual . . . of the Jewish Community in England*, London 1819, Levy Alexander furnishes the illustration of a Mezuzah which is totally plain. France, except for certain areas, excluded the Jews until the end of the eighteenth century. I can say nothing about the Mezuzah in seventeenth and eighteenth century Germany. From here, only the purely functional Mezuzah has come to my attention. From Italy has emanated the richly ornamented Mezuzah which rests in the Jewish Museum of London (Illust. 7). But

this, as I have stated, is obviously the product of the late eighteenth century, and was, even at that time, a solitary instance.

The actual home of Mezuzah decoration appears to have been Eastern Europe — countries such as Poland, Russia, or Bohemia, though there is no evidence that even here such existed prior to the seventeenth century. In the woody Carpathians, the woodcarving of the Mezuzah became popular as a specimen of a folk art continuing to this day. Though generally avoided, the human figure is sometimes employed, especially when expressing a religious thought. The illustration (Illust. 9) here given shows Moses with the Tablets of the Law, the Law on which the Mezuzah is founded. From a realistic standpoint one might criticize the figure of Moses as being anatomically too short. But now that we have learned how to cherish primitive art, we can appreciate the power compressed in that diminutive figure.

In other areas of Russia, the Mezuzah is beautified by means of silver. Let it be recalled that, in the artistic use of silver, the Jews of Eastern Europe, unlike those of Western Europe, showed skill. It is especially to be noted that the artistic adornment of the Mezuzah was the work of the Jews themselves. I know of one Mezuzah only which was produced by a non-Jew. It is a Mezuzah of the early nineteenth century with the trademark of the Breslau goldsmith Gottlieb Freitag. This Mezuzah is preserved in the New York Jewish Museum.²⁵

The piece here illustrated (Illust. 10), which I acquired in 1957, betrays its origin through its Russian double-eagle. As happens so frequently in Jewish art, there is an announcement of the sovereignty under which the work was performed. All of the other adornment is derived from the world of plants, but the tendrils and the grapes are symbolic; they signify Israel.²⁶

Another Mezuzah, recently acquired (Illust. 11) shows a crown — the *Kether Torah* — and, beneath it, the Tablets of the Law. Then follows the tiny window with the shutter which, to our surprise, carries the inscription שדי, thus displaying what, in other instances, is concealed. Beneath this is a long-necked bird of which I do not know the significance. The origin of this Mezuzah is divulged by an identical piece in the Jewish Museum of Prague. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that our Mezuzah originated in Bohemia. It dates, in all likelihood, from the early eighteenth century.²⁷

²⁵ Illustration in the catalogue of this collection, *Jewish Ceremonial Art*, Philadelphia 1959, No. 172.

²⁶ Over the portal of the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem, there hung a golden cluster of grapes.

²⁷ The Prague piece is pictured in the catalogue of this collection, the catalogue



Illustration 10. SILVER MEZUZAH
FROM RUSSIA.
Museum of the Hebrew Union College -
Jewish Institute of Religion.



Illustration 11. SILVER MEZUZAH.
PROBABLY FROM BOHEMIA.
Museum of the Hebrew Union College -
Jewish Institute of Religion.

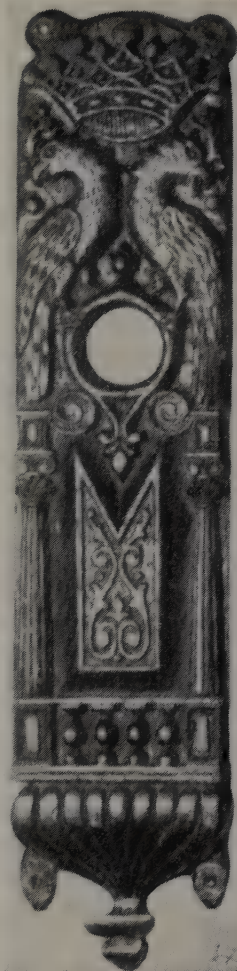


Illustration 12. WOODEN
MEZUZAH. GALICIA, CA. 1850.
New York. The Jewish Museum.

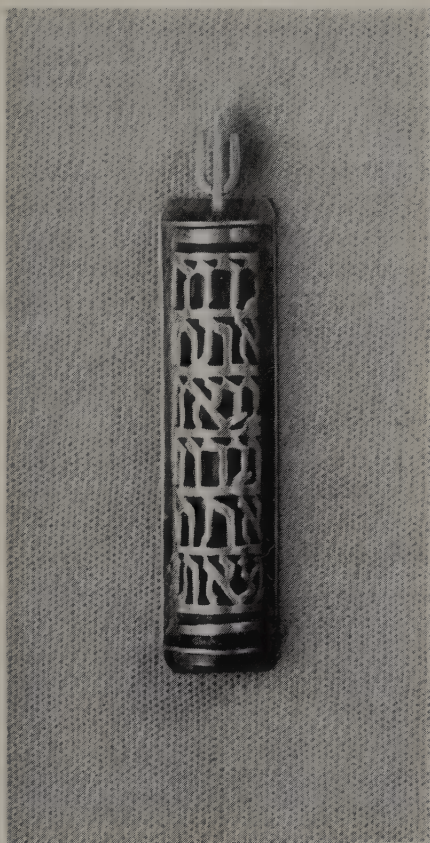


Illustration 13. SILVER MEZUZAH,
FASHIONED BY YEHUDA WOLPERT.
Museum of the Hebrew Union College -
Jewish Institute of Religion.

By way of adornment for the Mezuzah, the nineteenth century added nothing. Deferring to historical sentiment, it assembled traditional motifs — as shown in the illustration (Illust. 12), motifs piled up in heaps.

In the twentieth century it was otherwise. In accordance with the

which appeared in 1948. The bird is interpreted as a pelican, a symbol of mourning over Zion. The dating, conjectured as about 1800 is, in my opinion, too late.

general tendencies of the age, there is now sought for the cult-object something new. As a sample, we present here a Mezuzah of Ludwig (now Yehudah) Wolpert (Illust. 13). While Wolpert resided in Germany he adhered to the simple functionary style customary at the time. When, in 1933, he became a refugee to Israel, he added, to his art, fresh decorative elements, particularly by means of the Hebrew script. The *Shaddai* has become shortened into an initial, but the *v* has the festive shape of a candlestick, beneath which are six parallel lines with the motto: "Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out" (Deut. 28.6).

The Mezuzah began its development as a mere inscription. In our last item, an inscription now stands even on the outside of the container, and it is an inscription in the phantasy-rich Hebrew lettering which characterizes the Israeli art of today.

INTERNAL CONFLICTS WITHIN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SEPHARDIC COMMUNITIES OF FRANCE

ZOSA SZAJKOWSKI, New York, N. Y.

THE governmental structure of the eighteenth century Sephardic community of Bordeaux — called Nation — was the outgrowth of special historical circumstances at the turn of the preceding century. Opposition to this structure provoked many internal conflicts.

Executive power in the Nation was in the hands of a syndic and his deputies.¹ A body of elders (*anciens*) composed of all former syndics also participated in the conduct of the Nation's affairs. The following incident provides an example of the elder's role: On September 26, 1748, Jos. Rodriguez Pereire and son, and Raphaël Dacosta were fined one hundred livres by the Nation for not observing the Sabbath. However, three days later the rabbi and elders cancelled the fine.² According to later sources, the elders appointed the staff of a "Bureau of Reform or the Thirteen," to which complaints against excessive taxation were addressed.³ As a result of a decision of the Nation (on April 21, 1716) not all taxpayers, but only the elders had the right to vote in the election of the syndics and their deputies. Also, only the elders were tax-assessors, i. e., they alone determined the amount of taxes to be paid by each member of the Nation. On June 3, 1760, however, the Nation decided that the syndic and his deputies should be included in the number of assessors.⁴

In such a governmental structure there was a marked tendency toward the exercise of dictatorial power on the part of the Nations' leadership which was drawn from a small group of the richest families. According to a petition of about 1764, it is clear that the elders were members of nine families. Two elders were father and son, three were brothers-in-law, etc.⁵ These close family relationships were the basis of

¹ On the syndics see Z. Szajkowski, *Autonomy and Communal Jewish Debts during the French Revolution of 1789* (New York, 1959), p. 4, note 11.

² Minutes of the Nation (in the Departmental Archives of Gironde, series I), Nos. 166-67.

³ City archives of Bordeaux, GG 30 (a complaint addressed by Moïse Gonzales, ca. 1787).

⁴ Minutes of the Nation, Nos. 11, 272.

⁵ Departmental archives of Gironde, C 1090.

constant conflicts between the leadership and the community, especially in the area of tax assessments.

Whenever people refused to pay taxes, the Nation's leaders first tried coercion by "peaceful" means. Non-elders were invited to the meetings at which taxes were assessed to create the impression that the decisions reflected the popular will. The success of this policy was limited. Thus, in 1730 all taxpayers were invited to a meeting, but only a dozen non-electors in fact came. In 1734, when the number of elders was reduced by death, six non-elders were requested to attend tax-assessment meetings.⁶ Since "peaceful" means of coercion could not be relied upon, on April 12, 1730, the Nation's leadership used stronger measures. On that date the Intendant published an ordinance enjoining the Jews to pay taxes to their Nation.⁷

The dictatorial regime of the Nation was sharply attacked in the 1740's by the widow Mendes and her son, Joseph Mendes Darlac, both of whom, from 1733 until 1742, refused to pay taxes. In a memorandum addressed to the King and his Council the Mendes family stated that the six or seven "despotic rulers" of the Nation tried to ruin everyone who displeased them.⁸ In the 1750's many Sephardim protested against the tactics of their Nation's leaders in levying taxes and refused to pay them. This refusal was regarded as evidence of "disorders" by the syndics, who presented for approval to the King new by-laws to reinforce the syndic's authority. The by-laws were approved on December 14, 1760.⁹ According to Louis Francia de Beaufleury, author of the first history of the Jews in Bordeaux and Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne (published in 1799), the new by-laws aroused much discontent among the Sephardim. The text of the by-laws was obscure and hence favorable to arbitrary rules by the syndic and the elders.¹⁰ Despite the new by-laws many Sephardim refused to pay taxes. The Nation's leaders then turned to the King once more for a new set of by-laws, dated May 13, 1763, which again strengthened the hand of the syndics.¹¹

On June 24, 1764, fifty-two taxpayers assembled in the house of

⁶ Minutes of the Nation, No. 48; G. Cirot, *Recherches sur les Juifs Espagnols et Portugais à Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1908), pp. 47-48.

⁷ Cirot, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 6), p. 51.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

⁹ *Règlement de la Nation des Juifs de Bordeaux, approuvé et autorisé par Sa Majesté* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-4. The by-laws of Dec. 14, 1760, were also published separately with the same title (n.p., n.d.), 4 pp.

¹⁰ L.F.B. [Louis-Francia de Beaufleury], *Histoire de l'établissement des Juifs à Bordeaux et à Bayonne depuis 1550* (Paris, an 8), p. 85. On Beaufleury see Z. Szajkowski, *op. cit.*, (*supra* 1), p. 62.

¹¹ See note 9, pp. 5-9. The by-laws of May 13, 1763, were also published separately: *Ordonnance du Roy* . . . (n.p., n.d.), 4 pp.

the above mentioned Joseph Mendes Darlac to protest against the leadership of the Bordeaux Nation.¹² Thanks to the practice of the Sephardim of registering with notaries all private, commercial, and social events of importance, the detailed minutes of the meeting, together with the names of those present, were preserved.¹³

According to the minutes of the meeting, the Sephardic Nation of Bordeaux had its origin at the end of the 17th century and not an earlier period. The minutes thus confirm the theory that almost all first-generations of Marranos who arrived from Spain and Portugal were lost to the then existing Jewish communities. Those Marranos who remained Jewish arrived at a later period. No link existed between the Nations of these two groups.¹⁴

The minutes of the assembly present a rare contemporary explanation for the autocratic character of the regime of the Nation. Many Marrano families who came to France at the end of the 17th century — according to the minutes — were poor, all their possessions having been plundered by the Inquisition. The rich among the Marranos extended help to their poor brethren, even to the extent of paying taxes for them. This circumstance was highly influential in determining the organization of the government of the Nation. A small group of wealthy Jews who helped the poor and paid taxes for them was gladly recognized as the Nation's legal representatives. Now this form of government of the Nation was perpetuated even though in later years the economic status of the Marranos had improved and taxes were paid by a large number of families. Still, a small number of the richest families continued to direct the affairs of the Nation and to levy taxes in an arbitrary fashion. The fifty-two Sephardim present at the meeting represented — according to the minutes — the majority of the Nation's taxpayers.¹⁵ They agreed to oppose the despotic tendencies of the Nation's leadership. They elected a committee composed of Abraham Lopes, Moise Azevedo, Jacob Azevedo, Abraham Gabriel de Castro, Louis Francia, and Raphaël Julian¹⁶ to fight for a more just administra-

¹² Th. Malvezin wrote incorrectly about fifty-four present at the assembly: *Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1875), p. 217.

¹³ Departmental archives of Gironde. E. Rauzan's notarial minutes, file 34. June 24, 1764. See the Appendix.

¹⁴ Z. Szajkowski, "Population Problems of Marranos and Sephardim in France, from the 16th to the 20th Centuries," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXVII (1958), pp. 83-105.

¹⁵ According to the Intendant's report of Sept. 8, 1764, these fifty-two Sephardim had paid one third of the Nation's taxes. The total number of taxpayers was then 171. Cirot, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 6), p. 56.

¹⁶ According to all other sources the assembly elected a committee of six, including Joseph Mendes d'Arlac in whose house the assembly was held. See note 9, p. 12, and Beaufleury, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 10), p. 88.

tion of the Nation, if necessary by means of civil suits in courts-of-law. Two days later, on June 26, 1764, the committee presented the grievances at a meeting of the Nation's leaders who requested a delay of eight days before giving their decision.¹⁷ On July 3, 1764, the committee again petitioned the syndic and his deputies to act on the taxpayers grievances.¹⁸ The syndic summarily dismissed the petition. The committee then offered the syndic the following ultimatum: Unless the latter called a meeting within three days at which the taxpayers would be given the opportunity to present a plan for a new administration, the opposition to the leadership would be brought to the attention of the legal authorities.¹⁹

According to the historian, Louis Francia de Beaufleury, the meeting of taxpayers on June 24, 1764, directed the committee of six to discuss their grievances not with the syndics and his deputies, but with the elders, whose number was then twenty.²⁰

The syndic (the elders, according to Beaufleury) complained to the King that the dissidents who attended the meeting of 1764 were trying to replace a "real and legitimately constituted body" by a "phantom." The opposition, too, addressed many petitions to the French authorities requesting a more democratic leadership for the Nation. Their main argument was that the elders were a group of relatives belonging to only nine wealthy families. Thus, the Nation was ruled not by duly elected representatives, but by a hereditary group of "arrogant aristocrats," which was contrary to the traditional spirit of the Jews and to their legal status in France. The opposition demanded that the title elder (*ancien*) should be applicable not only to former syndics, but to all taxpayers of the Nation. However, in a subsequent petition the committee of six requested the following immediate remedy: four representatives duly elected by all taxpayers should join the "so-called" elders at their meetings on taxation. These four representatives should be elected for the period of one year only, thus ending the unhealthy system of appointing elders for life. In still another petition the opposition demanded permission to elect not four, but six representatives.²¹

The elders of the Nation tried to discredit the fifty-two dissident taxpayers in the eyes of the authorities. They stated that four of the

¹⁷ See note 13. No mention of this fact was made in the minutes of the Nation's meeting on June 26, 1764. (Minutes of the Nation, No. 324.)

¹⁸ See note 13. No mention is made in the Nation's minutes about a meeting of July 3, 1764.

¹⁹ See note 13.

²⁰ Beaufleury, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 10), p. 88. For a list of the elders see Malvezin, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 12), pp. 218-19.

²¹ Departmental archives of Gironde, C 1090.

elders "elected" in 1725-1764 were reliable shipowners, five were bankers and twelve were accredited merchants, while most of the dissidents were small merchants — some were even peddlers. The elders sent to the authorities observations on the reputation of the fifty-two. They recalled that Louis Francia, who was a son of Antoine Francia, was sentenced to death in 1753 with his two other sons, Abraham and Jacob, and a few Christians, for their role in arranging the fraudulent loss of two ships with fictitiously insured merchandise. Mendes was accused of being the widow of Delvaille [Delbaille], sentenced for the same crime.²² Arson Brandon was accused of the crime of arson; Joseph Silva, David Estenede, Jacob Molimer and others having declared themselves bankrupt; Isaac Gaspard Henriques was accused of stealing 8,000 livres from his aunt; Noues Lopes of being the son of a converted Jew who was later sentenced to death. Others were accused of belonging to the lower social class of peddlers and one of them, Jacob Lopes Pereyre of being married to a domestic. Many others were noted as newly arrived in the city, and as paying low taxes, etc.²³

On February 22, 1766, the King quashed the action of the opposition of June 24, 1764, and forbade the committee of six, under the penalty of one thousand livres each, to hold similar meetings. The King also ordered the Jews to respect the by-laws of 1760 and 1763.²⁴

However, in new by-laws of February 22, 1766, the King took into consideration the opposition's protests; the new by-laws provided that two representatives chosen from taxpayers other than the elders should attend all meetings, at which tax matters would be discussed.²⁵ Beaufleury wrote that this change reconciled everyone. The syndic's rights in matters of taxation were restricted, the dissidents gained two legal representatives and, thereafter, peace prevailed among the Sephardim of Bordeaux.²⁶ The two non-elders, however, were to be appointed by the elders themselves, not by the taxpayers. As already noted, the role

²² *Mémoire pour les sieurs Bernard Lichandre, Bernard Laserre, & autres négocians de la ville de Bayonne, assureurs de Pieurre Dulorier & d'Abraham Francia* . . . [Bordeaux, 1751], 26 pp.; *Mémoire pour les assureurs . . . Contre . . . Abraham et Jacob Francia père et enfans* . . . [Bordeaux, 1751], 8 pp.; *Seconde mémoire pour les assureurs* . . . [Bordeaux, 1752?], 25 pp.; *Arrêt de la Cour de Parlement. Qui condamne Pierre Dulorier, négociant de Bordeaux, Delbaille, Salzedo, Antoine Francia, père, Abraham Jacob Francia, . . . être pendus, pour crime d'avoir complété la perte & abandon des deux navires . . . Du 3 août 1753* (Bordeaux, [1753]), 4 pp.

²³ Departmental archives of Gironde, C 1090; Malvezin, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 12), p. 219; Cirot, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

²⁴ See note 8; Beaufleury, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 10), p. 88.

²⁵ According to one source this decision was taken earlier, on April 26, 1765. Departmental archives of Gironde C 1090 (note on a petition of the opponents).

²⁶ Beaufleury, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 10), p. 91.

of the elders also was disputed. The dissidents urged that the elders be chosen from the oldest living heads of the families, or from the oldest residents. The syndics, on the other hand, wanted to retain the existing composition of the body of the elders which was limited to former syndics and deputies.²⁷ In these matters, as in so many others, the leaders of the Nation were once again victorious. However, some of the assessors chosen from the group of non-elders were participants in the 1764 meeting of the dissidents, *e. g.*, David Mendes the elder (in 1766), Daniel Telles Dacosta (in 1767), David Lopes (in 1769), David Raphaël (in 1783).²⁸

The new by-laws of 1760 were directed solely against those who refused to pay taxes for the support of paupers. Another object of the various by-laws and ordinances was to restrict unlimited immigration of Jews to Bordeaux. The Nation was given the necessary authority to order the expulsion of foreign Jews and even of the poor Sephardim.²⁹

Even earlier, by his ordinance of April 12, 1730, the Intendant — at the elders' request — not only enjoined the Jews to pay their taxes, but also enacted severe measures against "vagabond" Jews.³⁰ On this occasion the authorities of the city of Bordeaux, who registered the by-laws of 1760 and 1763, in effect extended official recognition to the Nation's existence as a legal body.³¹

The by-laws of 1764 did not completely resolve the internal conflicts within the Sephardic Nation of Bordeaux. Evidence to that fact is found in the juridical briefs published in 1775, in connection with a dispute between the Nation and the Ashkenazic Jew Serf Polac who had settled in Bordeaux in 1771. There he married Judith Francia, a Sephardic woman who had been divorced by her first husband, Salomon Silva Salazar. The Sephardic Nation ordered Polac to leave

²⁷ Malvezin, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 12), p. 218.

²⁸ A list of such appointments in 1776-1785 was noted in the minutes of the Nation (after No. 447, May 11, 1777).

²⁹ Beaufleury, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 10), p. 82; Ad. Detcheverry, *Histoire des Israélites de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1850), p. 80. See also Z. Szajkowski, "Relations among Sephardim, Ashkenazim and Avignonese Jews in France from the 16th to the 20th Centuries." *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, X (1955), 184-87.

³⁰ A Monsieur Boucher, Intendant en Guienne [Bordeaux, 1730], 2 pp. [The Nation's request together with the Intendant's order of April 12, 1730.]

For other orders against "foreign" Jews see: *Extrait des registres du Conseil d'Etat* (Bordeaux, 1734), broadside [Jan. 21, 1734]; *De par le Roy . . .* (Bordeaux, n.d.), broadside [August 10, 1735]; *Extrait des registres du Conseil d'Etat* (Bordeaux, n.d.), broadside [Sept. 9, 1737]; *De par le Roy . . .* (Bordeaux, 1740), broadside [Feb. 28, 1740]; *De par le Roy . . .* (Bordeaux, n.d.), broadside [June 6, 1751]; *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Maire . . .* (Bordeaux, 17 juin 1787), broadside.

³¹ George Cirot, *Les Juifs de Bordeaux . . .* (Bordeaux, 1920), p. 13.

Bordeaux. Since he refused, the community leaders requested the Bordeaux authorities to expel him. Each of the parties published briefs challenging the other's position. Serf Polac attacked the dictatorial tendencies of the syndic David Lameyra, going so far as to accuse him of unscrupulously availing himself of the choicest cuts of *kasher* meat.³² The Nation's brief praised Lameyra,³³ and called attention to the kinship of Judith Francia with Louis Francia, who had participated in the fight of the 1760's against the Nation's leadership.³⁴ (It is possible that for commercial reasons a strong animosity existed between the Francia family and the family of Lameyra, which numbered the most influential syndics of the Nation among its members.³⁵)

About 1787 Moïse Gonzales complained against the high taxes imposed upon him by the Nation, while the Lameyra family, whose capacity to pay could be judged from the superb house they had built, was subject to low taxation.³⁶ In 1787 a social club was founded in Bordeaux by seventy Sephardim jointly with a number of Avignonese Jews who had settled in Bordeaux. The petition to permit the establishment of the club was signed by Mardochée Cordova and the

³² "Homme injuste & méchant! faites valoir tant qu'il vous plaira, vos prétendus soins pour l'assermissement de la Synagogue; perpétuez-vous dans le Syndicat, contre la disposition des Réglemens; maintenez-vous dans le maniemment de la Caisse formée pour la subsistance des Pauvres; ne faites participer à ce secours que ceux que vous voulez bien distinguer parmi ces malheureux; écarter des emplois & des assemblées tous ceux qui auroient l'adresse de balancer votre autorité ou le courage de vous contredire; rendez vous l'arbitre des taxes; présidez, puisque vous en êtes si jaloux, à la distribution des chairs de la boucherie; ne nous faites délivrer, en payant, que les morceaux que vous n'aurez pas jugé dignes de votre bouche; exercez en un mot, sur vos frères, le despotisme le plus révoltant & le plus odieux; mais cessez au moins d'attenter à leur bonheur & à la liberté de leur personne!" *Mémoire pour le Sieur Serf Polac* . . . (Bordeaux, 1775), pp. 1-2.

³³ "David Lameyra, . . . ce citoyen zélé, ce Négociant honnête, ce père des pauvres, ce frère, cet ami, ce bienfaiteur de tous ses frères, ce défenseur des droits de la Nation." *Réponse pour David Decosta, David Lameyra* . . . *Contre le nommé Serf-Polac* . . . (Bordeaux, n.d.), p. 2.

³⁴ "Louis [d'Antonio] Francia excita alors une révolte d'une partie de la Nation contre ces mêmes Réglemens, ce qui donna lieu à une instance qui fut jugée au Conseil, par Arrêt contradictoire du 22 Février 1766, faisant parti du recueil de ses Réglemens, par lequel il fut fait défenses de récidiver sous peine de 1000 liv. d'amende." *Ibid.*, (*supra*, n. 33), p. 5. On this conflict see also: Z. Szajkowski, "A Conflict between the Syndics of the Sephardic Jews in Bordeaux and an Ashkenazic Jew (1774-75)." *Davke*, No. 17 (1953), 325-30 (in Yiddish).

³⁵ On such a conflict see: *Raisons d'appel, pour Sara Lameyra, veuve de Jacob Fernandes, négociant à Bordeaux, appellante d'une sentence rendue au Sénéchal de Guienne le 14 août 1762. Contre Louis Francia, aussi négociant de la même ville* . . . [Signé: Bouquier, avocat.] [Bordeaux, 1762?], 20 pp. fol.

³⁶ City archives of Bordeaux, GG 30.

club's meetings were held at the home of Moyze Mendes. It is possible that the club represented another attempt to form an organized opposition to the syndics of the Nation, for not one of the club's members was a syndic.³⁷

In Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne also, the structure of the government of the Nation was the cause of many conflicts. On March 29, 1741, the Secretary of State, Amelot, wrote to the Intendant, de Sérilly, of the necessity to combat the abuses in the Nation's administration, which were attributed to the arbitrary and excessive powers of the syndics and to the procedures of electing them. As a result, the King ordered that in the future the syndics should be elected by assemblies composed of three syndics, four deputies, and six assistants chosen from among the former syndics. These thirteen notables were to elect annually three syndics, a cashier, and four assistants to direct the Nation's affairs.³⁸ It seems that this electoral provision did not settle matters, because on June 28, 1749, the King ordered that all disputes should be referred to the authority of the Intendant.³⁹ On December 21, 1752, the Nation presented its statutes to the Intendant for his approval, which he granted on January 6, 1753. The statutes accepted the King's electoral provisions for thirteen electors who would annually choose three syndics, six notables, four assistants, and a cashier. The syndics were to be chosen only from among the former assistants or cashiers. One of the three syndics, and one of the six notables, had to be chosen from among former notables. The effect of this rule was to insure that the thirteen electors would always include four members of the outgoing administration.⁴⁰ In fact, the administrative system of the Nation in Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne was not less wicked and anti-democratic than in the Nation of Bordeaux. (It should be noted, incidentally, that in earlier periods the Nation of Saint-Esprit attempted to force its authority upon the smaller communities of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, Bidache, Peyrehorade, and Biaritz. There were inter-communal clashes.⁴¹) Dissidence in Saint-Esprit did not end after the publication of the statutes of 1752. This was, most probably, the reason for the

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Copie de la lettre écrite par Mr. Amelot le 29. mars 1741. à Mr. de Serilly* (n.p., n.d.), 1 p.; Henry Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne* (Paris, 1893), pp. 139-40.

³⁹ H. Léon, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38), p. 140.

⁴⁰ *Au nom de Dieu* (n.p., n.d.), 4 pp., and another edition of 12 pp. Reprinted in H. Léon, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 38), pp. 141-51, and A. Dégat, "Règlement des Juifs de Bayonne," *Revue Gascogne*, XII (1912), 347 ff.

⁴¹ Henri Gross, *Gallia Judaica* (Paris, 1807), pp. 92-93.

Nation's decision of March 17, 1776, to close a few of the private synagogues in Saint-Esprit.⁴²

In Saint-Esprit also expulsion of "undesired" Jews in 1749 was undertaken at the request of the Nation itself, by authority of the above mentioned King's ordinance of June 28, 1749.⁴³

The delegation to discuss the Jewish problem with the commission to study the status of the French Jews, headed by de Malesherbes, was appointed by the elders of the Bordeaux Nation.⁴⁴ Only the events leading to the Revolution of 1789 changed the undemocratic system of elections in the Bordeaux Nation. Probably all taxpayers, even widows of deceased taxpayers, participated in the elections of March 1, 1789, to choose Jewish deputies to the Assembly of the Third Estate.⁴⁵ The election of deputies by the elders alone would have been illegal. It seems that the delegation to the National Assembly was also elected by all taxpayers.⁴⁶ After the Sephardic Jews were granted full citizenship on January 28, 1790, the elders themselves decided to dissolve the Nation and that the community would remain organized only as a philanthropic society.⁴⁷ In later years, however, all taxpayers participated in the meetings of this society which took over most of the religious and social functions of the former Nation.⁴⁸

The conflicts in the Sephardic communities, and similar discontent in the communities of the Ashkenazic Jews and of the Jews in the papal province of Avignon and Comtat Venaissin, induced the Jewish leaders, after the Revolution, to adopt democratic procedures for governing the Jewish communities. As late as 1836, S. Mayer-Dalmbert, a member of the central consistory, opposed the use of the term *syndics* as a designation for communal Jewish leaders, reflecting the tradition of distrust by Jews of their *syndics* prior to the Revolution of 1789.⁴⁹

⁴² Departmental archives of Gironde, C 1090.

⁴³ H. Léon, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 38), p. 140.

⁴⁴ Z. Szajkowski, "The Diaries of the Delegations of the Bordeaux Jews to the Malesherbes Commission (1788) and the National Assembly (1790)." *Zion*, XVIII (1953), 50, in Hebrew ("... l'assemblée des anciens... nomma pour Députés deux de ses membres").

⁴⁵ *Idem*, "The Sephardic Jews of France during the Revolution of 1789." *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXIV (1955), 156-57.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, "The Diaries..." (*supra*, n. 44), 65. See also the petition of the Bordeaux Jews: *Adresse à l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris, 1789 [1790]), 8 pp.

⁴⁷ Z. Szajkowski, "The Diaries..." (*supra*, n. 44), 43, n. 33.

⁴⁸ *Idem*, *Autonomy...* (*supra*, n. 1), pp. 132-34.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

APPENDIX

Minutes of the meeting of fifty-two taxpayers
of the Bordeaux Nation, June 24, 1764.⁵⁰

Par devant les Conseillers du Roy notaires à Bordeaux soussignés, sont comparus les cy après nommés, savoir

1. Joseph Mendes Darlac; 2. Aaron Rodrigues; 3. David Mendes père et fils; 4. Abraham Lopes; 5. David Lopes; 6. Daniel Telles Dacosta; 7. Abraham Rodrigues Nunes; 8. La demoiselle veuve de sieur Antoine Francia; 9. Raphael Jullian; 10. Jacob Lopes Pereyra; 11. Moise Azevedo; 12. Charles Joseph Lopes Pereira . . . agissant pour la d^{lle} sa mère; 13. Izaak Victoria; 14. Jacob Azevedo; 15. David Nones; 16. La demoiselle veuve Mendes; 17. Louis Francia; 18. Abraham Rodrigues Alvarez; 19. Dias Pereira; 20. Pereira Dubec; 21. David Raphaël; 22. Jacob Barges; 23. Joseph d'Is. Penamacor; 24. Aaron Lopes Cordova; 25. Moise Mendes; 26. Aaron Pereira Brandon; 27. Joseph Gabriel de Silva; 28. Daniel Rodrigues Lima; 29. Abraham Mendes Cardoze; 30. La demoiselle veuve Gaspard Henriques; 31. Moise Mezes; 32. Jacob Mendes; 33. Daniel Carrasco; 34. Izaak Mezes; 35. Rodrigues Henriques; 36. Daniel Lopes Chaves; 37. Anthoine Cardoze; 38. Nones Lopes; 39. Abraham Fonseca; 40. Abraham Henriques; 41. Abraham Gabriel de Castro; 42. Abraham Rodrigues Henriques; 43. David Esteves; 44. La demoiselle veuve Sasportes; 45. David Rodrigues Henriques; 46. Jacob Molina; 47. Rodrigues Henriques jeune; 48. Manuel Pereira Soires; 49. Izaak Cardoso, agissant pour la dem.^{lle} V^e Cardoso sa mère; 50. Izaak de Gaspard Henriques; 51. Moise Telles Dacosta; 52. David Molina fils.⁵¹

Ces dits Sieurs surnommés composant la majeure partie de la nation Portugaise établie à Bordeaux et contribuant chacun à leur égard au paiement des charges et impositions de lad. nation, tous assemblés dans la maison du Sieur Joseph Mendes Darlac, l'un d'eux rue du Cahernan, pour aviser aux moyens de remédier aux abus qui se sont glissés dans l'administration des affaires et dans la repartition des charges et impositions communes à la nation.

Dans laquelle assemblée a été dit observé et représenté que vers la

⁵⁰ See note 13. The document is reprinted without changes in the original spelling.

⁵¹ The addresses of the fifty-two taxpayers are omitted.

fin du siècle dernier, différentes familles juives poursuivies en Portugal et en Espagne par l'Inquisition, depouillées de leurs biens par ce tribunal et craignant pour leur vie, furent forcées de chercher ailleurs d'autres azilles, qu'un grand nombre de ces infortunés se retirèrent en France ou Louis Quatorze leur accorda sa protection dont ils ont jouy et qu'ils y jouissent encore de celle de son successeur Louis Quinze le Bien aimé. Que c'est là a peu pres l'origine de l'établissement en corps dans la ditte ville de Bordeaux de la nation des juifs portugais, que lors de l'établissement les deux tiers des malheureux qui vinrent jcy, etans reduits à la plus extreme judigence, eurent recours à leurs frères qui avoient encore quelques facultés et qui ces derniers se preterent d'autant plus vollontiers a secourir leurs compatriotes, qu'ils venaient en partie d'essuyer les mêmes disgraces, que les chefs des familles aizées dans les corps de la nation se taxerent vollontairement pour procurer à leurs frères leur necessaire, qu'ils se chargerent de la representer et porterent la générosité jusqu'a payer eux seuls tous les jmpots au nom de tous les Juifs domicilliés composant la nation, dont partie par leur misere étoient alors hors d'état de contribuer a lad. jmposition. Qu'en suivant cette ancienne forme un petit nombre de contribuables de la nation sous le nom de pretendus chefs, se sont atribués sans aucun droit la faculté de mettre les autres a contribution en les chargeant d'impositions par des repartitions arbitraires qu'ils font à leur gré, qu'il était naturel que dans l'origine de l'établissement de la nation dans Bordeaux, elle laissat à certains d'entr'eux qui avoient des facultés d'honneur de la representer et le droit de repartir les jmpositions dont jls suportoient tous les poids et qui se cotisoient dailleurs pour fournir aux besoins des pauvres, mais que ce plan daministration qui était alors très sage et que la nation avoit jnteret de soutenir au lieu de la contester, parceque les Deliberations prises par ceux qui administrhoient ne portoient aucun prejudice aux autres membres de la nation qui ny assitoient pas, puisquils ne suportoient rien dans les charges des jmpositions, est depuis devenu abusif et tres nuisibles a un grand nombre des membres de la nation, parce que cette nation setant augmentée d'une quantité de familles portugaises et espagnolles qui se sont aussi retirées a Bordeaux et qui ayant des facultés honnêtes pouvant soulager et soulagent en effet ceux qui suportoient autrefois toutes les charges et jmpositions, en contribuant au payement d'jcelles, qu'jl y a même plusieurs des anciennes familles qui etoient autrefois dans l'jndigence et ausquelles le travail l'jndustrie et l'economie ont aussi procuré des facultés qui les mettent pareillement en etat de supporter et qui suportent en effet a present leur portion des jmpositions et de la

taxe des pauvres de la nation, ce qui leur donne sans difficulté le droit de veiller à ce que la repartition s'en fasse avec justice et équité et de s'opposer à celle qui se fait par lesd. prétendus chef arbitrairement et à leur fantaisie. Que se sont ceux qui concourent aujourd'hui au paiement des impositions et à l'entretien des pauvres et qui représentent incontestablement la nation puisqu'ils replacent les anciennes familles qui secourirent si généreusement leurs frères dans l'origine de l'établissement de laditte nation, que ce nombre est considerable, que cependant quelques membres se sont attribués en seul un pouvoir aristocratique d'autant plus dur qu'ils l'exercent tyranniquement sur leurs égaux et qui au lieu d'imiter les anciens qui aidoient la nation de leurs conseils et de leurs biens, abusent d'une autorité usurpée en repartissant à leur gré de leurs passions les impositions de même que des pensions et des presens qu'ils font à qui bon leur semble, et enfin d'autres dépenses qu'ils font supporter à tous les contribuables qu'ils accablent de contraindre les plus rigoureuses en faisant procéder par saisie et vente de leur meubles en vertu d'un arrêt du conseil obtenu sur requête au nom de la nation dont lesdits prétendus chefs se servent en particulier pour molester impunément les autres lorsqu'ils font quelque incivilité pour le paiement des taxes aussi mal entendues qu'injustes qu'il plaît en particulier d'imposer et repartir comme ils trouvent à propos. Qu'il résulte de tout ce dessus que lors que les pères des comparans vinrent se établir à Bordeaux, les familles aisées, c'est à dire les contribuables au paiement des charges et impositions représentoient la nation et quelle doit être représentée aujourd'hui par les familles qui existent et qui concourent à présent au paiement desd. charges et impositions, ou par des membres choisis et nommés par tous ceux qui composent lad. nation à la pluralité des suffrages. Qu'il est par conséquent de l'intérêt des comparans qui font la majeure partie des contribuables de s'opposer au pouvoir arbitraire de quelques personnes de la nation ont déjà que trop établi et de prendre un parti efficace pour conserver les droits du corps de la nation en faisant cesser les abus quelle a tolérés jusques ici et qui ne peuvent prendre fin qu'autant que tous les contribuables rassemblés et éclairés sur leurs vrais intérêts fixeront par eux mêmes ou par la voie de leurs députés une forme d'administration plus convenable à l'intérêt de chaque particulier et plus honorable pour le corps en général que celle qui c'est pratiqué cy devant.

Sur toutes lesquelles observations et représentations il convient d'étatuer dans la présente assemblée ce qu'il est à propos de faire.

La matière mise en délibération il a été unanimement délibéré et arrêté par tous les comparans après mûre réflexion, de nommer comme

ils nomment par ces presentes pour représenter tous lesdits sieurs Abraham Lopes, Moise Avezedo, Jacob Avezedo, Abraham Gabriel de Castro, Louis Francia et Raphael Julian, en consequence les autres susnommés leur donnent pouvoir de travailler pour la nation avec les plus competens et les plus éclairés de ceux qui la composent, a l'établissement d'un plan d'administration juste, equitable et convenable aux interets du corps en general et des membres en particula, de se rendre a cet effet a la premiere et subsequentes assemblées qui seront tenues par les pretendus chefs de la nation,⁵² de les requerir d'en faire a supposer qu'ils effectent de ne pas convoquer p.^r éviter l'exécution de cette deliberation, de proposer dans lesd. assemblées les moyens qu'ils jugeront les plus propres de parvenir de concert et a l'amiable s'il est possible a se fixer sur un nouveau plan d'administration qui devra etre etabli et les plus faciles et les plus salutaires a son execution, de donner leurs suffrages dans les deliberations qui seront prises ausd. assemblées, de s'opposer au nom de la nation a ce que l'ancien plan d'administration soit suivy et a ce qu'il soit fait pas une taxe et repartition arbitraire par les pretendus chefs qui sont dans l'usage d'en faire de faire toutes protestations au cas qu'il fut passé outre, de se pouvoir même au besoin sera a supposer que les pretendus chefs de la nation refusent l'assistance et le suffrage desd. sieurs representans⁵³ dans les assemblées, afin de si faire admettre et de faire executer ce qui y sera deliberé a la pluralité des voyes de faire a raison de ce tous actes necessaires, d'intenter et poursuivre contre qui il appartiendra tous proces et instances, playder, appeller, obtenir tous jugemens les faire executer, et enfin de faire dans l'interet de la nation generalement tout ce que lesdits sieurs representans aviseront, promettant les comparans d'approuver et avoir pour agreable tout ce qui feront lesdits sieurs representans, et de leur rembourser a leur premiere requisition leur contingente portion de tous les fraix et debours que lesdits sieurs leurs representans seront obligés de faire pour l'exécution de la presente deliberation.

De quoi a été requis et octroyé acte.

Fait et deliberé dans la maison dudit sieur Joseph Mendes Darlac le vingt quatre Juin mil sept cens soixante quatre et ont lesdits sieurs comparans signé.⁵⁴

Le ⁵⁵ Juillet 1764 sont comparus devant les conseillers

⁵² The words "d'y proposer et arreter les" were crossed out.

⁵³ The word "syndics" was crossed out.

⁵⁴ The names of the fifty-two signers, being the same as those in the beginning of the minutes, are omitted.

⁵⁵ The exact date is missing.

du Roy notaires à Bordeaux soussignes, les sieurs abraham Lopes, Moise azevedo, Jacob azevedo, abraham Gabriel de Castro, Louis Francia et Raphael Jullian . . . lesquels ont dit que pour eviter la voye des actes . . . jls auraient verbalement remis le 26 Juin dernier aux pretendus chefs de la nation portugaise dans l'assemblée par eux tenue le dit jour, vne expedition de laditte deliberation . . . ces messieurs demanderent alors aux comparans vn delay de huitaine quilz requierent de leur accorder pour examiner et reflectir la deliberation a eux remise . . . a l'expiration dudit delay les trois du present mois a l'assemblée qui fut de nouveau tenue par lesd. sieurs, les comparans les auroient priés vne seconde fois de se conformer a lad^e deliberation, mais . . . jls sy sont refusés . . . Lesd. sieurs comparans se trouvent obligés de leur denoncer . . . par ces presentes lad. deliberation et la personne du sieur Edouard Brandon⁵⁶ leur syndic . . . Lesd. S^{rs} comparans requierent et sommes lesd. Pretendus chefs de convoquer sous trois jours pour tout delay vne assemblée ou les comparans seront appellés et admis et donneront leur suffrage a l'effet de travailler . . . au nouveau plan d'administration . . . a defaut de quoy les comparans . . . se pourvoiront par les voyes de droit . . . A Bordeaux en l'étude de Rauzens et ont lesd. sieurs comparans signé.

⁵⁶ Edouard Brandon was later reelected as syndic on April 19, 1770, and March 22, 1782. City archives of Bordeaux, HH 19.

JOSHUA HESCHEL SCHORR: MASKIL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN REFORMIST¹

EZRA SPICEHANDLER

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

I.

THIS article constitutes an attempt to rectify an imbalance in Reform Jewish historiography. It presents a critical-biographical treatment of the career of Joshua Heschel Schorr (1818?-1895), a leader of the radical wing of the Galician *Haskalah*, who was active during the crucial second generation of the German Reform when the theoretical groundwork of the movement was being laid. Like a number of other Galician scholars Schorr was involved in the development of Reform theory. As the leader of the left wing of the Galician *Haskalah*, he maintained close contacts with Jost and Geiger and published in their pro-Reform, German-Jewish periodicals. *החלוץ*, the Hebrew magazine which he edited and published, was widely circulated not only in Galicia and Germany but in the Russian-Polish pale as well. Its iconoclastic attacks on Orthodoxy and the *Halachah* did much to undermine their authority among Eastern European Jewish intellectuals. *החלוץ* was likewise read by some of the leading American Reform Rabbis of Schorr's day. At least one prominent American Reform Rabbi, Bernard Felsenthal, considered himself to be Schorr's disciple and was greatly influenced by his views.²

The fact that historians of Reform Judaism make little or scant reference to Schorr's career may be attributed to their general tendency to minimize or ignore the influence which the Galician and Russian *Haskalah* and *post-Haskalah* movements have exerted upon Reform Judaism. This oversight may be ascribed to a number of

¹ I use the term reformist to designate those men or ideas which were pro-Reform but were not an actual part of the organized Reform movement.

² See Ezra Spicehandler מכתבי יהושע העשיל שור אל ברוך פלונטשל in *HUCA*, XXVIII (1957), pp. 1-26 [Hebrew section] and Wiener-Spicehandler: "Bernard Felsenthal's Letters to Osias Schorr," *Essays in American Jewish History* (Cincinnati, 1958), pp. 379-406. See particularly footnote 6a on p. 380. Felsenthal's views on Judaism were in many ways closer to those of contemporary American Reform rabbis than the views of Isaac M. Wise. Cf. Abraham J. Karpf: "The Father of American Reform Judaism," *Judaism*, VII (1958), pp. 361-62.

factors. In the first place, the writings and ideas of Eastern European reformist writers never led to institutional results: no Reform congregations were formed in Eastern Europe.³ Moreover, the historians of the *Haskalah*, with the exception of Simon Bernfeld, Max Raisin and Joseph Klausner, had strong prejudices against the German Reform movement and consciously or unconsciously avoided associating it with the (for them) more palatable *Haskalah*. This omission was paralleled by reformist historians who were either unfamiliar with Hebrew literature, or who simply disdained Eastern European Jewry. David Philipson, for example, barely mentioned the Galician *Haskalah*, and devoted only a few lines to the reformism of the last generation of Russian *Maskilim*.⁴ Finally, since most standard histories of Reform Judaism were published before the American movement crystallized, their authors could hardly be expected to foresee the strong impact which the Eastern European elements were destined to exert upon it.

Simon Bernfeld was the first historian of Reform Judaism who understood its relationship to the Eastern European *Haskalah*. In his *תולדות הריפורמציון הדתית בישראל*, he devoted a number of pages to the Galician *Haskalah* and in particular to the radical *Maskil* Joshua Heschel Schorr.⁵ He failed, however, to recognize religious reformist elements in the Russian *Haskalah* of his own day. Max Raisin in his *The Reform Movement as Reflected in Hebrew Literature*⁶ also described in general terms the contributions of the Galician writers Krochmal, Erter, Rapoport and Judah Miseses to Reform thought, but likewise overlooked the ideas of the Russian *Haskalah*. Much detailed work has yet to be done in this area.

The *Haskalah* and *post-Haskalah* movements, as they developed in Eastern Europe, exerted a decided influence upon both the German

³ The *Maskilim* did advocate and introduce certain aesthetic reforms in the Eastern European synagogue life and established a number of modern schools. They, however, made no real change in the liturgy and theology of the synagogue. The first known modern synagogue and school were established by Josef Perl in Tarnopol. Modern synagogues and schools sprang up in a number of other large cities: Brody, Lemberg, Riga, Warsaw, Odessa and others. The Jewish masses described these synagogues as *Daitsh shulen*. The Brody synagogue in Odessa even introduced an organ.

⁴ He mentions the activities of Rapoport, Reggio and Nahman Krochmal in Galicia (*The Reform Movement in Judaism*), p. 41 and Judah Leib Gordon, Moses Leib Lilienblum and Reuben Asher Braudes in Russia (*Ibid.*, p. 563).

⁵ Simon Bernfeld, *תולדות הריפורמציון הדתית בישראל* (Cracow, 1900), pp. 108-09, 234-38.

⁶ *CCAR Year Book*, XVI (1906), pp. 285-95.

and the American Reform movements. As early as the thirties and forties of the last century, at the very period when the German movement was crystallizing its ideology, its leading spokesmen were engaged in a lively commerce of ideas with the leaders of the Galician *Haskalah*. Geiger, Jost and Zunz were in direct contact with Krochmal, Rapoport, S. D. Luzzatto⁷ and their disciples in Galicia. They published in the Galician Hebrew journals and were involved in the same ideological politics. On the other hand, the scientific works of Luzzatto and Rapoport and the lesser lights of the *Haskalah* were as much a part of Jewish scholarship of the period as were the works of their German contemporaries. They formed a single historical-critical movement. During the second generation of the Galician *Haskalah* (1835-1860), a particularly close relationship developed between the left-wing *Maskilim* and their counterparts in Germany. Joshua Heschel Schorr was the leader of this radical wing.

The influence of the Galician movement on the early American Reform movement has not been fully investigated. We do, however, know that *כרם חמד* and *החלוץ* were read in America, and that Isaac Mayer Wise claimed that he was ordained by Rapoport himself.

With the infiltration of Eastern European Jews into the American Reform Rabbinate at the turn of the century, a second wave of *Haskalah* ideas, this time of Russian origin, penetrated the movement. It is no accident that in 1903 Abraham Rhine, an American Reform Rabbi, wrote a rabbinical thesis on Judah Leib Gordon, a Hebrew poet who was himself influenced by Schorr. Rhine stressed "the struggle between the old order of things and the new, between medievalism and modernity — a story of the longing of the Jewish soul for emancipation." And he added that "incidentally, a study of the 19th century Hebrew literature cannot but tend to raise the Russian Jew in the estimation of his American [i. e., German-Jewish] brother and bring about a clearer understanding between them."⁸ Rhine's "incidentally" clause might very well indicate his real motivation. At this early date Eastern European members of the American Reform movement were extremely anxious to demonstrate that they, too, had acceptable credentials. During the following decades of this century, *Maskilim* or their sons became leading members of the American Reform rabbinate. Jews of Eastern European origin became the preponderant majority in

⁷ Luzzatto was, of course, Italian but spiritually he and his group were deeply involved in the Galician *Haskalah*.

⁸ The thesis was published in 1910, under the title of *Leon Gordon an Appreciation*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia. The quotations are from the preface on p. 7.

the ranks of American Reform Judaism. Although their readiness to join the Reform movement usually grew out of their desire to adjust to the new milieu, we must not underestimate the direct and indirect role which the *Haskalah* had in undermining the authority of Orthodoxy for many of them or their parents even before they left the European continent. The Reformist ideas advocated by men like Schorr, Judah Leib Gordon, Moses Leib Lilienblum and Reuben Asher Braudes influenced a generation of *Maskilim*.

The rise of *Aḥad Haamism* and cultural nationalism in Russia was also reflected in Reform Judaism, either directly or through the Reconstructionist version. David Neumark, who was a member of Aḥad Haam's circle, taught philosophy at the Hebrew Union College. His disciple Samuel S. Cohon, a product of the Eastern European *Haskalah*, played a significant role in the formulation of modern Reform theology. A significant number of other scholars and rabbis of Eastern European origin held key positions at the College and in the Reform rabbinate, and they in turn have influenced at least two generations of American Reform Jews. They introduced many *Haskalah* and Aḥad Haamist ideas into Reform Judaism, ideas which not only had a determining effect upon the Columbus platform (1937), but which continue to affect the Reform movement to this very day.

The *Haskalah*, therefore, justly deserves a place in the history of Reform Judaism which has hitherto been denied to it. A proper and balanced evaluation of American Reform Judaism requires that we re-study those Eastern European elements which merged with the earlier German strain and with it formed perhaps the strongest Jewish Reform movement in our long history. In such a re-evaluation Joshua Heschel Schorr emerges as a significant figure.

Simon Bernfeld appreciated the role which Schorr played in the development of Reform theory. In his pioneer work on the movement he said:⁹

"Joshua Heschel Schorr . . . was certainly not the equal of Geiger in practical knowledge, but was sharper than he in critical acumen and in his remarkable satirical skill . . . he is significant for us because he loathed half-baked scholarship more than extreme orthodoxy and respected Solomon Kluger, the fanatical *maggid* of Brody and Abraham Tiktin more than he did Zachariah Frankel and Rapoport, the moderate liberals He was an uninhibited critic of Biblical Judaism and a powerful opponent of Talmudic Judaism. He based his anti-Talmudism on a theoretical system"

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.

Joseph Klausner, likewise, clearly understood Schorr's significance as a key figure of the Galician *Haskalah*.¹⁰ Anyone working in this general area is particularly indebted to Klausner's work. Although he has amassed a treasure-house of detail, and his treatment of Schorr's החלוצי period is very good and indispensable to any student of his times, Klausner skimmed over Schorr's earlier career. This is hardly suprising, because much of the data on this earlier period was buried in the anonymous articles which Schorr wrote for the German-Jewish press, in obscure collections of the published correspondence of his contemporaries, and in the extant letters which Schorr sent to his colleagues. Yet, it was precisely in this period that Schorr developed his ideas and made his contacts with the German movement. By collecting Schorr's letters, by identifying most of his German articles and by tracking down the references to him in the works of his contemporaries, I have, to a considerable extent, uncovered this obscure chapter of his life.¹¹

This monograph will concern itself primarily with Schorr's career as an Eastern European Reformist. It shall discuss his reformist ideas and his links with the German reformers. At the same time, because of Schorr's importance as a leading figure in the history of Hebrew scholarship and literature, it shall also deal with his scholarly and literary achievements.

II.

Joshua Heschel Schorr was probably born on September 18, 1818 in Brody, the commercial center of Galicia.¹² His family was well-to-do, and connected with the prominent merchant families of that city.

¹⁰ היסטוריה של הספרות העברית החדשה, IV² (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 58-77, and especially pp. 71 ff.

¹¹ See my bibliography of Schorr's works, "The Writings of Osias Schorr," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* II (1955), pp. 20-36. I have since identified a number of articles which appeared in Phillipsohn's *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. See pp. 17-20 of this article. I have also published Schorr's letters to Felsenthal in *HUCA* XXVIII (1957), [Hebrew section] pp. 1-26.

¹² The name which Schorr used in German was Osias H. Schorr. Our sources are not in agreement as to the date of his birth. Until recently most scholars believed it was May 22, 1814, basing their information on the date Gershom Bader gave in the necrology he wrote for הפרדס, III (1896), p. 181; i. e., 3 *Sivan* 5574. This date was approximated by Hirsch Seidel; ספר תולדות הרב החכם הנודל והמבקר מוה"ר רבנו יהושע העשיל שור (Drohobycz 1888), 4, who says Schorr was born in *Iyyar*, 5574. The death notices published by Leo Herzberg Fränkel in the Vienna Jewish press also gave

Shalom Schachnah, his father, was a prosperous merchant, reputed to be both scholarly and orthodox.¹³ His mother, Sarah Leah, was the daughter of Arie'el Lieb Byck,¹⁴ one of the wealthiest men in Brody. Avigdor (Victor) Gruenberg and Berish Bernstein, his two brothers-in-law, were distinguished *Maskilim* and likewise members of the Brody commercial oligarchy.¹⁵

Schorr was thus born into the upper stratum of Brody society. In the first half of the 19th century, Brody was the largest and wealthiest Jewish community in all Galicia. Its affluent merchants dominated much of the trade between Russia and the West. They were among the leading buyers at the great Leipzig fair, and from there shipped their goods into Russia via the port of Odessa, and the commercial center in Berdichev. From Odessa itself they exported wheat and middle eastern goods into Central and Western Europe. At the close of the 18th century, they came into contact with the German *Haskalah* in Leipzig and soon, wherever they went, the Brody merchants carried the new enlightenment with their wares. The Austrian authorities in Galicia usually encouraged the *Haskalah* and supported the Germanophile merchant *Maskilim* in their endeavors for enlightenment. By the time Schorr was a school boy, the *Haskalah*

1814 as the year of his birth (*Neuzeit* XXXV [1895], p. 414.) *Brüll's Monatsblätter* XV (1895), p. 244 and *Bloch's Wochenschrift*, XII (1895), p. 601, a date which was also accepted by RBM (Reuben Brainin?) רבצפירר, XXII (1895), p. 752. However, Moses Steinschneider, a literary associate of Schorr, gave 8 *Tishri* 5577, Sept. 30, 1816, in *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 2573:7146. George Kohut, in the American magazine *Menorah* XIX (1895), pp. 305-306, agreed with Steinschneider. In his old age Schorr believed that he was born on September 18, 1818, and said so in a letter which he wrote to his nephew, which I shall append to the second part of this article. This date was also implied in one of Schorr's letters to Felsenthal *HUCA*, XXVIII (1957), [Hebrew section], pp. 21-22. See also Joseph Klausner, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 58, footnote 4a and N. M. Gelber, ערים ואספות בישראל, ערים ואספות יהודי ברוי, VI (Jerusalem, 1955), p. 213 n. 206.

¹³ Gelber, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁴ The Byck family were patricians who had become extremely wealthy in the first half of the 18th century. One of Schorr's maternal uncles, Ozer Byck, was a prominent wholesaler. The other, Jonah Byck, was a member of the Kehilah Council. Gelber, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-93.

¹⁵ Samuel David Luzzatto corresponded with Gruenberg [See אגרות שד"ל (Przemysl, 1882-1894), pp. 328, 338] and enquired about Schorr's relationship to him in his second letter. He was an advance subscriber to Luzzatto's *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica*, (Padova, 1836), p. 232. Berish Bernstein was listed as an advance subscriber to M. M. Juval's book רוח חיים (Lemberg, 1831). See Gelber, *op. cit.*, p. 213 n. 210.

was firmly entrenched among many merchant families in Brody and in the larger Galician towns such as Lemberg and Tarnopol.¹⁶

According to Hirsch Seidel, Schorr "at five could read and fully understand Hebrew in all its fine grammatical detail. At six he began to study Talmud and at eight he knew the Bible by heart."¹⁷ Notwithstanding Seidel's penchant for exaggeration, it is, nonetheless, rather clear that Schorr was a child prodigy and that his education was strictly along traditional lines. At an early age, undoubtedly under the influence of his two older brothers and his brothers-in-law who were *Maskilim*, he, too, became a *Maskil* and was brought into contact with many of the key figures of the *Haskalah*.¹⁸

Avigdor Gruenberg, one of his brothers-in-law, belonged to the circle of *Maskilim* who gathered around Naḥman Krochmal. According to Seidel, Gruenberg once took his brother-in-law (then barely fourteen) with him to Zolkiew to visit the great Galician sage. Krochmal was so impressed by the precocious youngster that he asked him to read a few pages of the manuscript of his projected *מורה נבוכי הומן*.¹⁹ When Krochmal returned to Brody for a two-year stay (1836–1838), Schorr must have become a junior member of his circle.²⁰ His friendship with Krochmal's son, Abraham, in all likelihood dates from that time. We may also assume that it was then that the two young scholars studied together under the guidance of Rabbi Solomon Kluger, the *maggid* and *ab beth din* of Brody.²¹ At Gruenberg's home Schorr also met Samson Bloch, the author of the geographic lexicon *שבילי עולם*.²²

¹⁶ For details on the role of the Brody merchants in the spreading of the *Haskalah* in Galicia and South Russia see N. Gelber, *op. cit.*, particularly pp. 153 ff. and 173–219. Israel Zinberg, *די געשיכטע פון דער ליטעראטור ביי יידן* (Vilna, 1937), VII part 2, pp. 254–55 and VIII, part 2, pp. 25–9. For the social and political basis of the *Haskalah* see Raphael Mahler: *דער קאמף צווישן השכלה און חסידות אין גאליציע* (New York, 1942), pp. 39–82. I do not agree with all of Mahler's conclusions.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁸ Schorr's two older brothers were Naftali Mendel Schorr (d. 1883), a Galician author of some prominence who later settled in Lemberg and usually signed his articles י"ל i. e., 'נפתלי' מנדל' שור' (see Gelber: *op. cit.*, p. 218), and Isaac Schorr, who possessed a very large Hebrew library and together with Jacob Goldenthal published an article in *כרם חמר* II (1836), pp. 194–201. Isaac Schorr and Luzzatto both competed in bids for the purchase of Judah Halevi's *Divan* from the bookdealer J. Cohin of Livorno. Luzzatto won the bid and, to avoid hard feelings, decided to dedicate his edition of the *Divan* to Schorr in honor of his marriage. See *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 618.

¹⁹ Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²⁰ Gelber, *op. cit.*, p. 186. *אגרות שד"ל*, pp. 387, 392, 675.

²¹ *החלוץ* IV (Breslau, 1859), p. 16. Abraham Krochmal also lived in Brody from 1842–1869. See Gelber: *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

²² Schorr's older brother Naftali edited vol. III of Bloch's *שבילי עולם* after its

About this time Schorr wrote a book called *אגרות מת* which he sent off to the poet Meir Letteris, then employed by Anton Schmidt, the famous Viennese publisher of Hebrew books. The book, which was probably written under the influence of Erter, was praised by Letteris, who, however, lost the manuscript.²³

Schorr's relationship with Erter began in 1831, after Erter returned to his native Brody to serve as a medical practitioner.²⁴ Despite the difference of age between the two men, Schorr soon became his close friend and collaborator.²⁵ Erter had a profound influence on Schorr. In his later writings, the younger scholar adopted Erter's satirical style and employed many of his characteristic literary devices such as dream-sequences and personification of abstractions. Yet, despite their warm friendship, Erter could be condescendingly critical of his young colleague. When Schorr published a hostile critical notice on Isaac Ber Levinsohn's *בית יהודה*,²⁶ Erter wrote to Levinsohn:

"According to my judgment the critic was wrong to cast aspersions on your honor and was impolite to do so to a scholar of your caliber. But your critic is a boy and he had no intention to do you harm. He only wanted to show off his sharp pen. Youth has its own rules and rights and we older men ought to treat it benevolently and forgive its sins."²⁷

Erter belonged to the left wing of the Galician *Haskalah* and tended towards religious reformism. The left wing of the movement had become increasingly dissatisfied with the literary leadership of Rapoport and the editorial policy of its organ, *כרם המד*. By 1851 Erter, Schorr and a number of radical Brody *Maskilim* launched their own journal

author's death under the title of *זהב שב"ה* (Lemberg, 1855). In the dedicatory poem with which he introduced the work, he speaks of the friendship of their youth. Schorr himself reviewed Bloch's translation of Zunz's work on Rashi in *ציון* II (1842), pp. 111-12, 126-27, 142-44 and 147-50.

²³ This was the title which Letteris used in his letter of November 10, 1835 to Schorr. (Letteris file of the Sharon Autograph collection Hebrew University Library.) Seidel called it *שיחה בין המתים* and reported that the book contained 500 pages. According to Seidel, the book was rediscovered in 1891 and attributed to Erter, *op. cit.*, p. 5. See also Gelber, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

²⁴ The University of Budapest only granted him a degree of *magister chirurgiae* and he served as a practitioner: "praktischer Arzt."

²⁵ Luzzatto frequently sent regards to Erter in his letters to Schorr. The first time he did so was on 29 *Heshvan* 5597=1836. *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 357. In a letter to Luzzatto dated 10 *Elul* 5605=1845, Erter refers to "our dear friends Schorr and *Shalosh* (Hirsch Mendel Pineles)." *הצופה לבית ישראל* (Vienna, 1864), p. 108.

²⁶ *Israelitische Annalen*, II (1840), p. 152.

²⁷ *באר יצחק* (Warsaw, 1899), p. 62.

—החלוץ.²⁸ Their long friendship ended with Erter's untimely death in 1851, just before the first issue was published.

Another writer who had a decided influence upon Schorr was the great Italian Jewish scholar Samuel David Luzzatto, who for many years acted as his guide and mentor in the field of Jewish scholarship. The two men carried on a lengthy correspondence which is our major source for Schorr's activities between 1832–1852. Unfortunately, only two of Schorr's letters to Luzzatto have been preserved and we must in the main rely on Luzzatto's letters for a picture of the period.²⁹ Schorr was strongly attached to the older scholar, often acted as his secretary and gave him much financial assistance.³⁰ In later years, long after Luzzatto's religious conservatism had led to the rupture of their close relationship, he became rather critical of Luzzatto's romanticism and even discounted his significance as a thinker.³¹

The correspondence between the two began when Schorr was 14 years old, (if we accept 1818 as the year of his birth). In a note which he later appended to a letter that he sent to Solomon Rapoport on January 13, 1832, Luzzatto remarked: "On the ninth of *Adar I*, I wrote a letter to the young man Joshua Schorr of Brody and enclosed a letter to my good friend, the scholar *Shir* (Solomon Judah Rapoport)."³² Schorr copied this letter and sent it on to Tarnopol for publication in *כרם חמד*.³³ Together with his reply Schorr must have enclosed an article on biblical philology, because the following letter by Luzzatto contained a scalding criticism of the younger man's callow scholarship and his disregard for grammatical rules:

"Do not rush to utter whatever enters your mind at first glance but gradually accustom yourself in philological matters . . . Your statements and explanations are all born of haste and the love

²⁸ *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 1096.

²⁹ The letters appeared in Victorius Castiglioni, *Epistolae ad Sciadal* (Tergeste [Trieste], 1900), pp. 91–96.

³⁰ Schorr copied many of Luzzatto's letters for transmission to *כרם חמד* and probably covered the postal charges. See *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 229. He advanced Luzzatto money for the publication *בית האוצר* (Lemberg, 1847), (see introduction, p. iii and *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 965), and for *המשחרר* (Vienna, 1847). *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 999. He also paid for the publication of *בחולת בה יהודה* (Prague, 1840), which Luzzatto dedicated to him as a wedding gift.

³¹ Luzzatto's last letter to Schorr was written in 1852. *אגרות שד"ל*, pp. 1149–51. Schorr's later views on Luzzatto appear in a letter which he wrote to Felsenthal (*HUCA*, XXVII [1957], Hebrew section, p. 20).

³² *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 229.

³³ Most Hebrew articles were published in the form of scholarly letters. This particular letter was not published (*אגרות שד"ל*, p. 229).

of novelty.^{33a} They demonstrate a lack of both knowledge and *Sprachgefühl*!"

Schorr must have been deeply hurt by Luzzatto's severe remarks. He did not have the courage to renew the correspondence until four years later on the 24th of *Nisan*, 5596 = 1836. From Luzzatto's response we can surmise that Schorr had written a self-effacing letter in which he had accepted the older scholar's reprimand and had assured him that he had continued studying diligently and was now seeking his counsel and guidance. This time Luzzatto's reaction was warm and fatherly. He all but apologized for the imperious tone of his earlier letter and reassured Schorr of his sympathy for him as well as for all younger scholars.

"Indeed I now see . . . that during the past years you have increased in both wisdom and understanding . . . but nevertheless remove pride from your heart and avoid self-satisfaction with your intellectual abilities. Let your goal be the increase of knowledge and the discovery of truth . . . However if you take pride in discounting the words of others and in seeking novelty, you will never attain truth."³⁴

By the end of 1836, Schorr was already involved in the literary politics of the day.³⁵ At that time Luzzatto was engaged in a controversy with Ber Blumenfeld over the authorship and the date of the Book of Job.³⁶ He was concerned about the reaction of this wealthy and influential *Maskil*, and implored Schorr to assure Blumenfeld that his "intentions were peaceful and respectful." His inquiries about Isaac Erter, his age and his medical training indicate that Schorr must have written to his mentor of his growing friendship with Erter.³⁷

Early in 1837, the letters took on a more scholarly bent. Schorr wrote a long letter dealing with the dating of the *Targumim*, the Mishnah and the Talmud, in which he agreed with Luzzatto's view that these texts were not committed to writing until after the close of the Talmud. In doing so he opposed the views of both Zunz and Isaac Ber Levinsohn who believed that they were written down much

^{33a} *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31.

³⁴ April 29, 1836 — *ibid.*, p. 335. The letter was published in *כרם חמר*, III, pp. 208-11. It was dated 12 *Iyyar* 5596 = April 29, 1836, and not 2 *Tammuz* (April 29 *sic*!) as listed erroneously by Gräber. In one of the letters Luzzatto wrote to Victor Gruenberg at the time, he made an enquiry as to the latter's relationship to Schorr. *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 338.

³⁵ Letter of November 9, 1836; *ibid.*, pp. 356-57.

³⁶ See *כרם חמר* I (1835), pp. 54-58; II (1836), pp. 110-25.

³⁷ *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 357.

earlier.³⁸ In addition, he suggested a number of biblical emendations which Luzzatto again rejected with his usual admonition about the rash and flippant manner in which Schorr rushed into the difficult area of biblical philology.³⁹

The earliest indication of Schorr's budding religious reformism appeared in a letter which Luzzatto sent him on May 28, 1837.⁴⁰ Schorr had mailed him an article dealing with theological matters which he intended to submit to *כרם חמר* for publication. Luzzatto was shocked by its radicalism and warned him not to dare publish it as it stood:

"You must remove (from your article) everything you said . . . concerning the belief in the immortality of the soul. If you do not, I shall be compelled to answer your remarks without favor (this matter involves the profanation of the Name). I shall be compelled to say in my statement that whoever says I believe thusly but I do not believe that Moses believed so, is really asserting that he denies the divine revelation of the Torah. He turns Moses into a scholar like other scholars and does not believe that he received God's word at all. For how can a man accept the prophecy of Moses and yet, for all that, believe in doctrines which according to him are the very opposite of what Moses believed. All of this is what I should have to answer you publicly before Israel. I am reluctant to spoil your reputation before your countrymen. Therefore heed my advice. Do not publish these words. On another occasion I shall privately and lovingly refute your statements."

The article never appeared. It is quite possible that Rapoport, the editor of *כרם חמר*, rejected it even after the necessary deletions were made and that Schorr's subsequent hostility to him dates from this period. Schorr was never able to publish an article in *כרם חמר* until Rapoport disassociated himself from its staff.

The severity of Luzzatto's reprimand must have hurt the young scholar deeply, since the correspondence between them broke off again and was not resumed until after a lapse of nearly nine months. Schorr made the first conciliatory gesture by sending Luzzatto a book as a gift. The latter responded warmly. In his next letter he expressed his surprise at discovering that Volume III of *כרם חמר* did not contain the controversial article.⁴¹ For the time being, at least, there was to be no published evidence of Schorr's nascent radicalism.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-68 letter of January 1, 1837.

³⁹ Schorr published an elaboration of this letter in the *Israelitische Annalen*, II (1840), p. 160.

⁴⁰ *אגרות שד"ל*, pp. 386-87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 414, 431.

However, soon he was to emerge as a personality of considerable significance in the Galician *Haskalah*. This occurred in 1837, when a critical point in the evolution of the movement was reached as a result of serious differences which arose between Rapoport and the more conservative *Maskilim* who controlled *כרם חמר*, the literary organ of the movement, on the one side, and the more radical Brody *Maskilim* led by Erter and Schorr, on the other. The two friends began to plan the publication of a competing periodical which would be free of Rapoport's control and which would publish, if not actually reflect, their more radical views.

The split was particularly painful because as late as the early months of 1837, the radicals had still considered Rapoport to be closer to them. They had in fact twice rallied to his support when he was under fire. Upon hearing that a group of young right wing disciples of Krochmal had planned to attack Rapoport (as well as Luzzatto) in the second volume of their yearbook, *הרואה*, Schorr and a number of Brody *Maskilim* became so incensed that they used their influence with the Lemberg censor and succeeded in having the unfavorable volume banned.⁴² Later that year, when Rapoport was elected *ab beth din* of Tarnopol, they hailed his appointment as a great victory for the movement in the Jewish press and rushed to his defense in the face of orthodox opposition.⁴³ In doing so they chose to ignore the fact that even before his arrival in Tarnopol, and, in all likelihood, in anticipation of his appointment, Rapoport had begun to disassociate himself from his more extreme friends.

One of the first things Rapoport did was to insist that Geiger remove his name from the list of sponsoring scholars which appeared at the head of the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*. In fact, after permitting Geiger to use his name for three years, he now accused him of printing it without authorization. In his published reply, Geiger angrily pointed out that the accusation was unjust, and announced that Rapoport's name would no longer be listed.⁴⁴

⁴² See Luzzatto's letter of June 20, (p. 431) in reply to Schorr's letter of Feb. 20. For further information on the *רואים* (as this group was called) see S. Bernfeld, *תולדות ש"ר* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 98-100, Klausner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 245, and Luzzatto's letters to the two *רואים* Jacob Bodek and Nahman Fischmann, *אגרות ש"ר*, pp. 426-27, 429. *הרואה*, II was finally published in Ofen (Hungary) in 1839. When this volume was imported into Galicia, its authors were fined 25 ducats for evading censorship. See Bernfeld, *loc. cit.*, and N. Gelber: *אנציקלופדיה של גלויות: לבוב* (Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv, 1956), pp. 243-44.

⁴³ See *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, II (1838), pp. 88, 91-92, 95.

⁴⁴ *WZJT*, IV (1839), pp. 472-73. The disagreement with Geiger dated from 1837 (see p. 473).

About the same time Rapoport wrote a letter to the Jewish community of Krotoschin attacking Geiger's radicalism.⁴⁵ The letter was subsequently used by Geiger's opponents during the well-known Geiger-Tiktin controversy. So concerned was Rapoport about his association with the *Haskalah* that he even tried to sever his relationship with **כרם חמר** but he was prevailed upon not to do so.⁴⁶ Shortly following his election as *ab beth din* in Tarnopol, he became alarmed at the jubilant and provocative statements published by some of the radical *Maskilim*. In a letter to his son-in-law Hirsch Bodek, he implored Bodek to prevail upon both Schorr and his older brother Naftali Schorr to desist from attacking his orthodox enemies with their usual venom. He complained that under the guise of their respect for him, they were doing him a disservice.⁴⁷ Rapoport's protestations had the desired effect, at least upon Naftali Schorr. About a month later, Naftali wrote a letter to his younger brother deprecating Luzzatto's trenchant criticism of Maimonides and Abraham Ibn Ezra as dangerous to the cause of the *Haskalah*.

"Will anyone heed the teachings of a man whom he hates Until recently, he [Luzzatto] only disparaged Maimonides, but now he . . . speaks ill of Ibn Ezra. Yet for all that, he expects to bring us light and to brighten our darkness . . . Words like these will increase their stubbornness [of the unenlightened] and as long as he persists in defiling the honor of such sages, he will increase their hatred for wisdom"⁴⁸

Naftali Schorr's letter reflected the growing concern of many moderate *Maskilim* with Luzzatto's daring scholarly conclusions. We must, however, bear in mind that Luzzatto was not a radical *Maskil*. During the next two decades he, too, would take his side with the conservatives. However, at the moment his concern with scientific truth and the less oppressive atmosphere of the Italian Jewish *milieu* led him to make more radical pronouncements. Schorr sent a copy of Naftali's

⁴⁵ In the *A. Z. d. J.*, II (1838), p. 435, a correspondent reported the fact that Rapoport intended to attack a certain German rabbi — the anonymous rabbi appears to be Geiger. Bernfeld **חולדות ש"ר** p. 60, mistakenly believed that the correspondent was Schorr. The letter, however, was submitted from Posen. See also **אגרות ש"ר**, p. 644.

⁴⁶ Bernfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Rapoport spoke bitterly of the plot Jost was engineering against him in a letter to Luzzatto (**אגרות ש"ר** [Przemyśl, 1885], pp. 105-06) and said that of all the German scholars only Zunz had remained his friend.

⁴⁷ See Israel Wilens: **יוסף פערל'ס יודישע כתבים** (Vilna, 1937), pp. LXV-LXVI.

⁴⁸ Schorr sent a copy of Naftali's letter to Luzzatto. It is reproduced in **אגרות ש"ר**, pp. 564-65. The editor omits the date of Naftali's letter but the ordinal number assigned to it indicates that the copy was received by Luzzatto in August, 1838.

letter to Luzzatto. In his reply, Luzzatto not only re-asserted his position but enumerated his list of grievances against Rapoport:

"I wrote my words just as they were dictated to me by my love of truth, Torah and Israel. I have no doubt that my words will be approved by the *Maskilim* and will be of benefit to them . . . How long must we wait? Will the eyes of the fools ever be opened, if the *Maskilim* keep silent? I had congratulated myself with the thought that Rapoport's election to the chair in Tarnopol was made in heaven so that he might be able to save the Jews of your country from their obscurantism and defilement. Consequently I wrote my paean in his honor. But whoever published it did both of us harm. And now I see in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, No. 108, that Rapoport intends to write an attack against a German sage⁴⁹ who formerly was his friend, in order to disassociate himself from the new ideas. Goldenburg has also informed me that he [Rapoport] has written an article censuring me and intends to publish it in *כרם חמר* (I have not even seen it!) From all this, I conclude that not only is he unable to rise up against the imbeciles but feels compelled to become one of them."⁵⁰

Above all, the rumors which had reached Luzzatto about the forthcoming volume of *כרם חמר* were most exasperating. Schorr, who had by now become a violent opponent of Rapoport, abetted the developing conflict between the two scholars by transmitting to Luzzatto every bit of literary gossip that he was able to gather.⁵¹ Klausner's contention that Schorr was motivated "by the hatred of a young unknown scholar for an older, conservative and accepted colleague"⁵² does not tell the whole story. He must have certainly resented the rejection of his articles by the editors of *כרם חמר* and could hardly abide the cavalier manner in which Luzzatto was treated; nevertheless, his real motive was his uneasiness about Rapoport's growing conservatism. To him this looked like a betrayal of the "cause."

Like most of the preceding volumes of *כרם חמר*, Vol. IV was edited by Goldenburg only in name. The actual editor was Rapoport. Luzzatto was therefore quite correct in holding Rapoport responsible for the article which attacked him. The immediate cause which prompted the attack against Luzzatto was a controversial article on

⁴⁹ *Allgemeine Zeitung*, II (1838), p. 435. This appears to be a projected attack against Geiger. See Bernfeld, *חולדות ש"ר*, p. 60. Rapoport did write an attack on Geiger in a letter which he sent to the community of Krotschin in 1839. The letter was used by Geiger's opponents during his controversy with Tiktin. See also Geiger's response in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, IV (1839), pp. 472-75.

⁵⁰ *אגרות ש"ל*, p. 565.

⁵¹ Bernfeld, *חולדות ש"ר*, p. 59. Klausner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 75.

⁵² Klausner, *loc. cit.*

the redaction of the Mishnah which he published in Vol. III (1838).⁵³ In it he took issue with Geiger's earlier assertion⁵⁴ that the Mishnah was written down during the Tannaitic period and insisted that it was not recorded until the days of the *Saboraim*. After marshalling his proofs and refuting those of Geiger, Luzzatto asserted:

"I have dealt at length with this problem because of its great importance. For we live in a generation in which an understanding of the basic principles of our faith is necessary and more compelling than it has been in past generations, although we have hardly begun to understand them. As long as we are unaware of the fact that the sages refrained from writing down the oral law so that the courts of each generation might be free to revise and to change (it) in accordance with the place and the time, we will not understand the principle of the oral law."⁵⁵

Curiously, this radical statement with which Luzzatto concluded the first part of his article was hardly noticed by his opponents; the second part of the article was for them most irritating. They resented the bitter attack on Maimonides which it contained and Luzzatto's assertion that Maimonides presented a distorted view of Judaism.⁵⁶

Maimonides was the great white god of the *Haskalah*, — the hero of every *Maskil* from Mendelssohn to Krochmal; such iconoclastic remarks could hardly remain unanswered. Moreover, this was not the first attack which Luzzatto had made against a rationalist medieval philosopher. Besides Maimonides whom he criticized several times, he had also written disparaging remarks about Abraham Ibn Ezra. Above all, by criticizing Luzzatto, the conservatives could express their growing concern over his radical friends. A concerted attack was therefore

⁵³ Letter V, pp. 61–76.

⁵⁴ *WZJT*, II (1836), pp. 482–85.

⁵⁵ *כרם חמר*, III (1838), p. 66.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70. Luzzatto based his accusation on three points:

(1) By codifying rabbinic law and deliberately omitting the differences of opinion which were preserved in the Talmud, Maimonides eliminated the legal basis for change and reform.

(2) His Aristotelian view that the essence of soul is intellect led him to the intolerant view that non-Jews whose religious opinions do not conform with the correct religious view are denied salvation. Judaism, Luzzatto insisted, does not believe "that God will punish the nations because of their mistaken faith or because of their paganism but only because of their ethical failings."

(3) Finally, and this is inferred from Maimonides' preoccupation with "intellect," his attempt to define the dogmas of Judaism violates the spirit of Judaism. "For the prophets, the *Tannaim* and the *Amoraim* and the *Geonim* never set limits in matters of belief. They never stated that he who believes thusly or he who does not, is excluded from the community of Israel."

launched against him in Volume IV of *כרם חמד*. The poet Jacob Eichenbaum wrote an article in which he sought to explain a difficult passage in Ibn Ezra's *יסוד טורא* which Luzzatto had previously attempted to expound.⁵⁷ In the introduction to Eichenbaum's article, an anonymous author from Odessa remarked: "A few days ago I received Volume II of *כרם חמד* and read the article by the great scholar Samuel David Luzzatto which dealt with this passage . . . I was astounded to discover that a scholar of his caliber makes such empty and insipid statements and congratulates himself over them."⁵⁸ Nahman Krochmal, in the same volume, took up the cudgel for Ibn Ezra and Maimonides in a gentler article.⁵⁹ Rapoport himself included certain strictures which he made concerning Luzzatto's views. Moreover, Rapoport had not only failed to send him advance copies of these critical articles, but had actually deleted certain portions of Luzzatto's own articles before printing them.⁶⁰ To add insult to injury he reproduced a poem which Luzzatto wrote in honor of his election to Tarnopol despite the latter's urgent request to Goldenburg to return it to him.⁶¹ To the volatile Luzzatto all this had the trappings of a conspiracy against him. In an acid letter, he penned "a bill of divorcement" to Rapoport and withdrew as a contributor to *כרם חמד*.⁶² Luzzatto was also convinced that Krochmal had had a hand in the plot against him and remained very cool to Krochmal, despite Schorr's attempts to effect a reconciliation between them.⁶³

As a result of Luzzatto's withdrawal from *כרם חמד*, no volume of the magazine was published in 1840. Schorr and Erter could now count upon Luzzatto's support for the more radical periodical which they were planning to publish. In a letter to him they suggested that the defunct *בכורי העתים* be revived and be published by Anton Schmidt in Vienna.⁶⁴ Luzzatto supported the move but insisted that they should not use Moses Landau of Prague as publisher "since he is tied hand and foot with Rapoport and Krochmal."⁶⁵ He significantly suggested that the new magazine include translations of the more

⁵⁷ *כרם חמד*, II (1836), pp. 70-84.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, IV (1830), p. 113.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-74.

⁶⁰ *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 616.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 561. The poem appeared in *כרם חמד*, IV (1830), pp. 257-58.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 615. The text of the anti-Rapoport poem which Luzzatto composed for the occasion was reprinted by I. H. Weiss in *זכרונות* (Warsaw, 1895), p. 102.

⁶³ *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 675.

⁶⁴ Anton Schmidt was the original publisher of *בכורי העתים* (1821-1833), and also published the first two volumes of *כרם חמד*.

⁶⁵ M. J. Landau was the publisher of *כרם חמד*.

important articles of Geiger, Zunz, Philippson and Jost, the leading advocates of German Reform.⁶⁶ Meir Letteris was Anton Schmidt's Hebrew editor at the time and in all likelihood opposed the publication of another Hebrew magazine, particularly by the opponents of his great teacher, Nahman Krochmal. At any rate, nothing came of the proposal.⁶⁷

III

After severing his connection with *כרם חמר*, the only Hebrew periodical then available, Luzzatto was compelled to submit his articles to the Judeo-German press. Schorr, to whom *כרם חמר* was also closed, probably followed his master's example and thus launched his literary career. His earliest contributions, although originally written in Hebrew, were published in Ludwig Philippson's new magazine, *Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*.⁶⁸ Philippson's liberally oriented magazine was considered hostile to the Austro-Hungarian regime, and although Schorr did not sign his articles, the police were aware of his participation. A police report dated 1837 noted: "H. Schorr is a younger son of the Brody merchant Schacher (sic) Schorr. He has no occupation, spends his time studying, and is said to be vain and snobbish. Among the Jews, he is considered to be handsome."⁶⁹

The anonymous character of all articles sent in from Brody makes their identification very difficult. Volume I (1837) of the magazine contained only a single, insignificant news item which could possibly be attributed to Schorr.⁷⁰ Of greater importance were the articles which he probably wrote in Volume II (1838).⁷¹ The more significant ones dealt with the election of Rapoport to Tarnopol. As I have already indicated, these articles hailed the appointment with enthusi-

⁶⁶ אגרות שד"ל, p. 676.

⁶⁷ בכורי העתים was revived in 1845 by Reggio. Only a single volume of the new series was published.

⁶⁸ Gelber, ברודי, p. 214, n. 212.

⁶⁹ Quoted by Gelber, *ibid.*, p. 214. The archives were kept in the old Ministry of Interior which was destroyed by fire in 1922. The date given in Gelber is a misprint and should read 1837 not 1835. This information is garnered from a private communication which I received from Dr. Gelber.

⁷⁰ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, I, p. 449, s. v. *Brody*, November 29, 1837.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 25, s. v. *Brody*, December 22, 1838; p. 88, s. v. *Brody*; pp. 91-92, s. v. *Tarnopol*, January 23, 1839 (probably the second part of the previous article); p. 92, s. v. *Russische Grenze*, February 1; p. 249, s. v. *von der russischen Grenze*, April 30; p. 250, s. v. *Brody*, May 1; pp. 283-84, s. v. *Brody*, April 23; p. 383, s. v. *Brody*, July 18; literary supplement No. 26, p. 104, s. v. *Brody*; p. 459, s. v. *Brody*, August 31.

asm and were full of disparaging references to his orthodox opponents. Rapoport's election had elated not only the *Maskilim* of Galicia but their German colleagues as well. Numbers 22-24 of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* devoted a great deal of space to the event. The articles dated "Brody" and "Russische Grenze" were probably written by Schorr or by his brother Naftali. The latter must also have penned the one sent in from Tarnopol.⁷²

The first literary article which Schorr published was *Über einige neuere hebräische Dichter*⁷³ which contained a short evaluation of the works of a number of Hebrew writers.⁷⁴ Interesting were his caustic remarks about Nahman Fischmann and the articles which he had published in the two volumes of *הרואה*. "In the two pamphlets he reached the peak of vulgar calumny and personal defamation and he and his colleagues celebrate a true triumph of baseness."⁷⁵

Schorr's fearless and somewhat irreverent attitude also led him into writing a short but severe attack against Josef Perl's *בוהן צדיק*, which appeared in 1838. In Perl's story, Obadiah, the main character, had spent about three weeks in Abduri (a thinly veiled reference to Brody) and had made some very biting observations about the arrogant comportment, the superficial culture, the gross materialism and the blatant dishonesty of its merchants and *Maskilim*.⁷⁶ Schorr, who appeared to be unaware that Perl was the anonymous author of the work, or at least feigned ignorance of the fact, denounced the unfair picture of his city in very strong terms:

"He (the author) has the nerve to insult the entire Jewish population of Galicia and especially that of Brody in the most revolting manner, accusing them of the worst vices and denouncing them publicly."⁷⁷

A strong rebuttal of this severe attack upon the great lay leader of the Galician movement was soon published in the magazine under the signature of M. L. K. of Zloczow.⁷⁸ Shortly after Schorr's article, Perl, who had been ill with cancer for some time, died.

⁷² N. Gelber, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁷³ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, II (1838), literary supplement No. 26, p. 104.

⁷⁴ The authors he discussed were: N. J. Fischmann, Z. Landau, L. Kinderfreund, J. Eichenbaum, M. Strelitsker and A. B. Gottlob.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 104, s. v. *Brody*, September 8, 1838. Luzzatto must have referred to these remarks when he praised Schorr for his criticism of *הרואה* in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, see *אוצר נחמד*, IV (1864), p. 108. See also *אגרות ש"ל*, p. 568.

⁷⁶ Perl's racy description of the busy and harried life of Brody's rising merchant class was also most interesting. See *בוהן צדיק*, pp. 62-63. The attack on their morals appeared on pp. 56-75. Schorr particularly took exception to the remarks on p. 76.

⁷⁷ *Allgemeine Zeitung*, III (1839), p. 46.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

The reasons which prompted Schorr's attack may have been personal, but there is no evidence to support this contention. Perl as a leader of the right wing of the *Haskalah* had strong prejudices against the *Maskilim* of Brody because of their more radical views.⁷⁹ He was also closely associated with Rapoport. It was natural for Schorr, the young leader of the left wing, to aim his shafts at Perl. Despite the controversy which his first anti-Perl article excited, Schorr was not deterred from repeating in greater detail his criticism of Perl in an article which he wrote for Jost's *Annalen* later that year.⁸⁰ Rapoport was of course incensed at this second attack and in the necrology which he published in honor of Perl in כרם חמר, V (1841),⁸¹ he bitterly castigated the author of "this evil calumny" which was printed in the German newspaper. Subsequently, in a letter to Luzzatto, Rapoport declared that despite his quarrel with Schorr over the Perl articles and Jost's attempt to aggravate the situation, he (Rapoport) had kept Schorr's friendship. Moreover, Rapoport insisted, he had not "repudiated the good hopes which we entertain concerning him (Schorr) provided he weighed his words more carefully."⁸²

Schorr's account of the various "sects" among Galician Jewry more or less confirmed the picture given by his contemporaries.⁸³ After describing the two prevalent orthodox parties (*Hasidim* and *Mithnagdim*), he presented an interesting, if at times sarcastic picture of the disunity which pervaded the camp of the enlightened.

"The main characteristics of the enlightened or Moshe Dessauer party, as they are called here, are: inner disunity, which among some people becomes half-conviction, indifferentism . . . (they remain indifferent when their comrades are attacked) . . . lack of firmness and unity . . . This party contains the following subdivisions: (1) the ultra-liberals who reject all tradition just because it is tradition, even if it be good and useful . . . (2) the pseudo-enlightened who are going in the wrong direction, finding the meaning of enlightenment in luxury and splendor and rejecting all propriety . . . (3) friends of the *juste milieu* whose number however is only insignificant."

⁷⁹ See his letter to Letteris: זכרון בספר, pp. 98-99. See Samson Bloch's זיהב שבי"ה (Lemberg, 1855), part 2, pp. 25-30. Bloch's abject apology for his "error" in praising the "wise men" of Brody was a sad testimony to the power of Perl and the helplessness of an impoverished *Maskil*.

⁸⁰ *Annalen*, I, (1839), pp. 345-47. For a disparaging picture of Perl's activities in Galicia see Raphael Mahler: *op. cit.*, pp. 164-202.

⁸¹ כרם חמר, V (1841), p. 167.

⁸² אגרות ש"ר, pp. 105-06. The letter was dated 28 Nisan 5601 = 1841.

⁸³ "Charakteristik der jüdischen Sekten in Galizien," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, II (1838), pp. 283-84, s. v. *Brody*, April 23, 1838.

He went on to say that social contact and marriages between the various sects were rare.

"The factitious spirit has a disturbing influence upon social life; apart from business dealings the factions have no communication. Marriages between families of the first and second parties (*Mithnagdim* and *Hasidim*) are rare; between the first and third faction (*Mithnagdim* and *Maskilim*), if not for the sake of money, only in exceptional cases; between the second and third party (*Hasidim* and *Maskilim*), never. A strict Talmudist shies away from *Hasidim* even more than from the enlightened."

Thus we see that although Schorr criticized Perl's description of Brody's *Maskilim* as being one-sided, he too was aware of their shortcomings. Erter, too, had spoken of the empty and half-educated, sybaritic *Maskilim* with contempt. On the other hand, one is surprised to find no mention at all of the division within the third group between the traditionalist *Maskilim* who, like Perl, sought both *Torah* and *derech eretz* and the more radical *Maskilim* of Schorr's ilk.

Schorr's articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* were sketchy as are most first literary fruits and their significance is merely bibliographical. With Volume III, Schorr's association with this periodical came to an end.

In January, 1839, J. M. Jost, the historian, began publishing a more erudite periodical, called *Israelitische Annalen* in Frankfurt-am-Main. Jost had been in contact with both Luzzatto and the Galician school. Although Luzzatto had once quarreled with him and had accused him of radicalism,⁸⁴ the two had effected a reconciliation soon after the break with Rapoport. Now Luzzatto and Schorr moved over to the *Annalen* and became frequent contributors to its pages.⁸⁵

Like his articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, those which Schorr wrote for the *Annalen* were unsigned and were translated from the Hebrew. Schorr must have realized that these articles were of greater importance, because he referred to them in his later works, whereas those he published earlier in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* he subsequently ignored. These *Annalen* articles reflect his growing maturity and are most significant for our understanding of Schorr's reformist views.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ At one point Luzzatto even attacked Rapoport for his relationship with Jost. His earlier attitude was reflected in his letters to Rapoport. See אנרות שד"ל, pp. 178 ff., 192, 212-13, 565, where Jost appears to be the non-believer to whom Luzzatto referred. See Bernfeld: חולרות ש"י, p. 60.

⁸⁵ In a letter dated 8 Iyyar, 5600 = 1840, Luzzatto remarked, "Philippson dislikes me because I deserted him for Jost"; אנרות שד"ל, p. 687.

⁸⁶ See my "Writings of Osias Heschel Schorr," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, II (1955), pp. 20-36.

The theoreticians of Reform Judaism were deeply concerned about the need for a *continuum* of Jewish tradition. They realized that the times required a major revision of the *Halachah* but they were aware of the dangers which such a revision implied. A principle of authority had to be maintained if Judaism were not to disintegrate into a multiplicity of religions. Tactically, too, Reform had to be defended against the charge that it was schismatic and "Karaitic."

Schorr's first article in the *Annalen*, entitled *Der gegenwärtige Streit zwischen Autorität und Kritik*, constituted one of the earliest attempts to lay down a theoretical basis for the reformation of the *Halachah* without denying the need for a principle of authority. With Geiger, Schorr identified himself as a "traditionalist" and denied that he intended "to join the Karaites."

"I am of the party of tradition and honor its followers; yes, I think they [the Rabbis of the Talmud] have developed their deductions from the Written Law in honest piety and in order to administer it more correctly. [They also] vigorously protected and preserved our holy religion . . . Without them it might have disappeared entirely . . . but the yoke which they have placed upon our coreligionists to prevent error is in our time oppressive and could easily lead people to throw it off entirely . . . Our contemporary sages and teachers [must make] a sharp and thorough scrutiny of all the regulations . . . and after recognizing what is unsuitable for our time [must] . . . abolish these and establish new institutions more in accordance with present conditions."⁸⁷

This, Schorr explained, could be done if we understood that while the Torah is of divine origin, the oral law "is throughout the work of mortal men and subject to error" and that although the oral law once preserved Judaism, now "it surrounds the holy Torah with an iron wall, keeping out any ray of light."⁸⁸

Unlike the Karaites, then, the new reformers did not assert that the "oral law" was a fraud. On the contrary, it once had historic validity, but with the changing of the times, that validity had been lost.

As a Galician *Maskil*, Schorr envied the progress of German Jewry in the face of the challenge of modern times. He congratulated its leadership for undertaking "with true religiosity . . . to discuss their often differing opinions in the periodicals."⁸⁹ He regretted the fact that most Galician Rabbis and scholars did not read German and until recently had no way of learning about the new ideas. Fortunately, he declared, Luzzatto's Hebrew article on the redaction of the

⁸⁷ *Annalen*, I, p. 170a.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169b.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 170b.

Mishnah which had appeared in the last issue of *כרם חמר* had provided certain theses which could have far reaching implications for the reformation of the *Halachah*.⁹⁰

Schorr presented the following as Luzzatto's major conclusions:

- "1. The Mishnah and Talmud were originally not compiled to serve as codes of law which would be valid for all times. They merely represent a recorded collection of the various legal decisions.
2. The ancient sages had never intended to prevent their descendants from altering, amending or abolishing any of their decisions if conditions in later times required such changes.
3. They recorded varying and individual opinions and decisions in order that [subsequent generations] would be able to choose one or another view."⁹¹

Schorr therefore concluded that the Mishnah and the Talmud were thus denuded of divine and even legal authority. Modern Judaism was free to alter, amend or abolish any of their regulations to fit the needs of the hour.

But even more significant was Schorr's conviction that it was tactically wrong for the Reform party to argue for Reform on a *halachic* basis. This was fighting the enemy on his home grounds and by his own rules. It could only lead to defeat. Reform could only be justified on historical, critical grounds. The theoreticians of Reform must destroy the myth of talmudic infallibility. They could do this best with the aid of their scientific weapons. They must point out the errors, corruptions and inconsistencies which abounded in *halachic* literature.

"I wish to point to one advantage which the party of criticism has not utilized so far . . . and which is in my opinion the only one which could succeed in making the authority of the Talmud doubtful. Until now our . . . criticism was always based on *halachic* grounds and we tried to prove that the *Halachah* itself offers a way out through its rules. Naturally, our opponents found it easy to crush our arguments by quoting the numerous sayings of the other authorities. What chance does a single saying in the Talmud have against a great mass of opposing decisions? As long as the Talmud itself is acknowledged as a perfect and infallible monument to the divine tradition, it cannot be used as a means for reform. But why not start to uncover the inner imperfections and the many undeniable errors in the Talmud. In this manner we would prove beyond any doubt that we have before us a work of mortal men!"⁹²

⁹⁰ *כרם חמר*, III (1838), pp. 61-76.

⁹¹ *Annalen*, pp. 170b-171a.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 171b-172a.

Here then was the formula for the new reformist criticism. For Schorr it became the very basis for the many iconoclastic and anti-Talmudic articles which he later published in his magazine *החלוץ*. He was to use his great knowledge of the *Halachah* to prove its human origin and to point out its absurdities and errors.

It must be said that Schorr's enthusiasm led him to exaggerate the originality of his views. Geiger, in an early article published in the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, had already asserted that the Talmud was only one of the many documents of the tradition and that the tradition was broader than the Talmud and not dependent upon it. "The principle of tradition which is the source for all the talmudic and rabbinic literature is nothing but the principle of continuous development, not in the sense of slavish adherence to the letter of the Bible but to its spirit and true religious consciousness."⁹³ The difference, however, lay in the tactical suggestions of Schorr. Writing as he did for the Galician milieu where the authority of the Talmud was supreme and where the "enlightened" knew the talmudic tradition, he sought to launch a program to humanize the Talmud and disarm its authority. German reformers had another audience and that audience had other problems.

Underlying all of Schorr's views was the liberal, rationalist spirit of his generation:

"One must recognize the truth and be prepared to sacrifice his own ideas even if they are ancient. Antiquity is no proof of truth, nor is mere tradition binding upon posterity."⁹⁴

Again and again he repeated his contention that scientific criticism had no intention of destroying the *halachic* system nor even the Talmud itself:

"The fear that the critical handling of the Talmud will shake the foundations of religion is tasteless and groundless. Criticism need not destroy the whole work, nor must the old be disregarded merely because it is old. The unbridled eagerness for novelty brings nothing good in and of itself. However it should lead to an investigation of every aspect. Where the damage is found, the building ought to be repaired . . . and made a fit dwelling-place for God. It should not be a heap of ruins. This task is gigantic and difficult and requires many labors. Many obstacles lie in its path and time presses for its fulfillment. Therefore, it is the duty of every expert to join in and cooperate [in its fulfillment] and God will

⁹³ "Der Kampf christlicher Theologen gegen die bürgerliche Gleichstellung der Juden etc." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, I (1835), p. 349.

⁹⁴ *Annalen*, I, p. 275.

give His blessing to it . . .⁹⁵ Suppose I were to concede . . . that all regulations, rules and decisions of the Talmud form indeed a real and unaltered tradition . . . (although this is not the case). Such a concession would not invalidate the statement that the source of this tradition, as we now have it, is no longer preserved in its purity. Even before the authors of the Gemara were to add their commentaries to the Mishnah, it already contained errors. They based their own commentaries on these very errors. The fact that these commentators on the Mishnah, who developed regulations from each single word of the text, did not even notice the errors upon which they based their decisions is in itself ample proof that they did not write their works under divine inspiration, but under the influence of their human reason. As a result, they drew at times wrong conclusions.

Once we have proved that the Mishnah is not free of errors, it follows that each word it contains need no longer be regarded as sacred. Critical scholars, then, should be asked to examine the Mishnah with greater scrutiny and to illumine it.

Moreover, a valid [legal] principle demands that we must not derive legal decisions directly from the Mishnah. We must, therefore, stick to the Gemara. Yet the sad critical condition of the Gemara is known to every expert. It contains, besides the frequent interpolation of whole passages as the famous letter of R. Sherira . . . has recorded, . . . glosses which were made by later scholars (Tosaphoth to Kethuboth 2a). Asulai, a reliable expert in talmudic literature also confirms [this view and states that] he has seen manuscripts of the Talmud which lacked many difficult passages (שם הגדולים, II:3) . . . If we likewise bear in mind that the Talmud contains many insignificant stories, speeches, jokes, partially distorted dialogues, etc., are we not taxing common sense when we insist that all [its contents] . . . be accepted as pure, true and unalterable . . . religion subject to neither questioning nor scrutiny? In view of the intellectual as well as moral damage caused by such superstition, who can blame contemporary scholars for resorting to criticism in order to separate the false from the true, preserving that which is still useful and applicable while discarding that which is antiquated and inadmissible. Have not our old and new enemies reproached us sufficiently with the sayings of the Talmud and exposed us to ridicule, hatred and persecution on their account? Why should we not discard the dross in order to preserve the pure doctrine."⁹⁶

He also pointed out that the *Shulhan Arukh* was even more cumbersome than the Talmud and contained rules that "were purely pulled out of the air." Many of these were of kabbalistic or Persian origin.⁹⁷ (In subsequent articles, published in *החלוק*, he returned to

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 281-82. The reference to our "new enemies" was to Alexander McCaul's attack on the Talmud in *נתיבות עולם* (Frankfurt, 1839).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 292.

this problem of the interrelationship of Persian and Jewish civilizations in greater detail.)

In an article entitled *Kritische Studien*,⁹⁸ Schorr proceeded to prove his contention that the Mishnah was a disorganized compilation. In doing so he associated himself with Isaac Reggio's opinion⁹⁹ that despite Geiger's brilliant attempt to discover an organizing principle to explain the redaction of the Mishnah,¹⁰⁰ it was clearly not an organized code. To bolster Reggio's contention, he marshalled two further arguments: (1) Sherirah Gaon specifically stated in his Epistle that Rabbi Judah had not established a specific ordering of the *masechtoth*. (2) There existed a *halachic* principle which maintained that if what appeared to be an established law turned out to be, in a subsequent passage, a matter of controversy it lost its validity and that, if on the contrary, a point of law which at first was in dispute was resolved in a later passage, it became an established law. This principle applied only if in either case the sequence was within the identical *masechta*. This latter requirement, argued Schorr, implied that according to tradition there was no sequence within an order (*seder*) but only within a single *masechta*. Schorr then proceeded to demonstrate that even within a chapter, and often within a single *masechta* itself, inner contradictions existed:

"These considerations are obviously very consequential for the fixing of the degree of authority which can be accorded to the Talmud. For there is a great difference between a code of law which is well planned and firmly grounded in tradition and a compilation which is unorganized and, in many points, clearly inexact. The old Talmudists relied only in part upon the text and drew further conclusions which are, therefore, on shaky foundations. We are almost inclined to believe that the main intention of all the talmudic scholastics was to fetter the spirit to religious ideas and to occupy it with legal matters and to keep alive the study of the sources. This aim is certainly praiseworthy and we can condone much of the *pilpulism* and the casuistry on these grounds. However, it is obvious that this method of study is not appropriate nowadays, and that since its results often rest upon error we cannot consider all of them (the results) as equally authoritative."¹⁰¹

Despite his earlier insistence that any attempt to base reforms on *halachic* grounds was futile, Schorr, the erudite Talmudist, could not

⁹⁸ *Annalen*, II (1840), pp. 248-50.

⁹⁹ כרם חמד, III (1838), pp. 77-81.

¹⁰⁰ "Einiges über Plan und Anordnung der Mishnah," *WZJT*, III (1836), pp. 471-93.

¹⁰¹ *Annalen*, II, p. 249.

resist the temptation to demonstrate that even on *halachic* grounds, the traditionalists' objection to change was invalid. A major argument against any alteration of the *Halachah* was based on the interpretation of the well-known Mishnayoth *Eduyoth* 1.5–6. These Mishnayoth seemed to declare that "no court can annul the decision of another court unless it was greater than the former in wisdom and in the number of its members." The traditionalists, of course, brandished this weapon with all the vigor they could muster. As a result, a number of reformist scholars wrote articles in which they attempted to demonstrate that the Mishnah was no stumbling block for their program of reform.¹⁰² Schorr, likewise, joined the fray. He insisted that these Mishnayoth had been misinterpreted by both traditionalist and reformist scholars and that, if properly interpreted, the Mishnayoth need not inhibit the search for reforms in accordance with the *Halachah*. The Hebrew text of the difficult Mishnayoth reads: ולמה מזכירין דברי יחיד בין המרובין הואיל ואין הלכה אלא כדברי המרובים שאם יראה בית דין את דברי היחיד [יסמוך] ויסמוך עליו שאין ב"ד יכול לבטל דברי ב"ד חברו עד שיהיה גדול ממנו בחכמה ובמנין . . . אמר ר' יהודה אם כן למה מזכירין דברי היחיד בין המרובין לבטלה שאם יאמר אדם כך אני מקובל יאמר לו כדברי איש פלוני שמעת.

Schorr proposed a rather ingenious interpretation of the text which took into account the variant Tosefta text dealing with this problem.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Geiger in *WZJT*, II (1836), pp. 482–85; Luzzatto in *כרם חמד*, III (1838), pp. 71–76, Reggio, *ibid.*, pp. 83–87.

Geiger interpreted the Mishnah more or less in keeping with Maimonides' and Bertinoro's views except that while they believed the prohibition included courts of different periods as well as contemporaneous courts, he insisted that the courts involved were only those of the same period. Geiger's translation reads: "Why do they mention the words of the individual together with those of the majority when the usage is not to reckon with the former? So that if a court — in a practical decision — recognizes the view of the individual as valid and follows it, then no court can invalidate the opinion of the same unless that court is greater than it in wisdom and in the number of its members — something like a court of appeals." (p. 482).

Luzzatto rejected Geiger's view because he felt that the text would not support it. He therefore accepted the traditional explanation that the law applied to future courts as well. In his opinion, it was first instituted by Rabbi Judah Hanasi in order to strengthen the authority of the Mishnah. After the redaction of the Mishnah, no man or court could rule against a mishnaic law unless he or it could find support in a minority dissent recorded in the Mishnah. Nevertheless, a few sages in Rabbi Judah's time did not accept his position. The Braithoth and Toseftoth frequently record their dissent (pp. 73–74).

Isaac Reggio, after examining the differences between Geiger and Luzzatto against the background of the disagreement of Maimonides and the *Rabad* on the meaning of the Mishnah, decided that the Mishnah as it stands is unexplainable.

¹⁰³ *Eduyoth* I:4 (Zuckerman, second ed., p. 455): לא הזכירו דברי יחיד בין המרובין: אלא שמא תיצרך להן שעה ויסמכו עליהם.

Eduyoth 1.5, he explained, contained two separate laws. The first stated, "Why do we mention the view of the individual (minority) if the *halachah* follows only the view of the majority? If a court in an exigency decided to accept the view of the minority it can base its decision upon this view."¹⁰⁴

The second law, however, did not speak of an exigency but of the power to annul. It stated:¹⁰⁵ [that] a court cannot annul the view of another court unless it is greater than it in wisdom and in membership. Schorr believed that Rabbi Judah's question in *Eduyoth* 1.6 made sense only if we interpret the Mishnah in this fashion. Rabbi Judah asked: "Why do we mention the view of the individual for the purpose of annulment (לְבַטְלָהּ)? — that is to say: *Eduyoth* 1.5 explained why we mentioned the minority opinion in cases of exigency, but what purpose was served by mentioning it in cases of annulment when the view of the minority was of no consequence. Rabbi Judah then answered: "If a man shall say I have [a contrary] tradition, one will then be able to say to him that this tradition was according to Rabbi X's view [and since Rabbi X's view was a minority view, it had no validity]."

Schorr went on to assert that, contrary to Geiger's view, the Mishnah also referred to courts which were not contemporaneous as *J. Abodah Zarah* II.9 and *J. Shabbath* 1.7 indicate. He also believed that the application of this law was limited to the eighteen *halachoth* which were taught in the attic of Hezekiah (*Shabbath* 1.4).¹⁰⁶ In subsequent articles Schorr returned to this Mishnah and pointed to it as a *halachah* which led to the fossilization of Judaism.¹⁰⁷

One of the problems which faced the *Maskil*-reformers was of course the bitter opposition of the orthodox Rabbinate. Schorr drew a pessimistic picture of the Galician religious leadership. He reserved his bitter criticism for those rabbis who, because of family position and wealth, had been exposed to enlightenment and yet had refused to champion the *Haskalah* out of selfish considerations. Like his fellow *Maskilim*, Schorr trusted the Austrian monarchy and hailed the government regulation which had ordered that by 1846 all new rabbis should be required to have had formal training in philosophy and

¹⁰⁴ Here he inserted the Tosefta variant.

¹⁰⁵ He argued that the particle 'שׁ in the word שׂאין need not be translated as "because" and that in our text it is interchangeable with 'ו "and."

¹⁰⁶ Schorr claimed that his views agreed with Rabbenu Asher, but I have not been able to locate the passage. The commentary תפארת ישראל to the Mishnah gives a similar explanation of שׂאין as ואין.

¹⁰⁷ דהחלוק, I (1851), pp. 49–50; II (1853), pp. 49 ff.

education. However, he believed that unless a modern Rabbinical seminary on the style of that in Padua were established for Galicia, the law would simply be ignored.¹⁰⁸

The remainder of Schorr's significant articles in the *Annalen* appeared in Volume II (1840) of that periodical, under the general heading: "Literarisch-kritische Briefe" and consisted, in the main, of a series of book reviews. Although these articles were scholarly and not polemical, Schorr's reformist *tendenz* clearly showed up in each of them.

His review of Franz Delitzsch's *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*¹⁰⁹ reflected Schorr's deep interest in the evolving modern Hebrew literature and testified to his acumen as a literary historian. To this day it remains a valuable commentary on Delitzsch's pioneer work.¹¹⁰

The *Maskilim* of Germany and Galicia were highly flattered by Delitzsch's book on modern Hebrew poetry. He was the first European scholar to deal with contemporary Hebrew literature and to do so sympathetically. But unlike his colleagues, who were overawed with the compliments paid them by the gentile professor, Schorr was not one to be deterred by such ulterior considerations. His severe criticism of Delitzsch was a testimony both to his rugged honesty and his scientific impartiality. "Denn die Wahrheit allein ist mein Ziel."¹¹¹ The young Galician scholar found "mistakes and errors on every page"¹¹² of the book and recorded (not without irony) his surprise that these occurred despite Delitzsch's heavy reliance on Dr. Julius Fürst.

He took exception to Delitzsch's designation of Isaac Satanow as the founder of modern Hebrew poetry, and quite correctly maintained that it would be equally wrong to claim this distinction for Moses Hayyim Luzzatto. He went on to make some very incisive remarks about the Yiddishisms and the Germanisms which abounded in the Hebrew style of the *Maskilim*. He also disagreed with Delitzsch's contention that the Russian Hebrew authors wrote a more authentic Hebrew because they were not influenced by German. Astutely, he pointed out that they were influenced not only by German, the language of the *Haskalah*, but by German literature as well.¹¹³ Hebrew

¹⁰⁸ *Annalen*, I, (1839), p. 253.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, II (1840), pp. 120, 128, 135-36, 143-44 and 152.

¹¹⁰ See G. Kressel: ספר, ההשקפה של הספרות העברית החדשה, קלומר יוסף, XVIII (1941-42), p. 233.

¹¹¹ "For truth alone is my goal," p. 120.

¹¹² *Annalen*, II, p. 120.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

stylists (particularly the prose writers), insofar as they find biblical diction inadequate for their purposes, would do better, he believed, if they would resort to later "talmudic" Hebrew rather than to foreign languages. The elegant prose style of the Italian Hebrew authors drew his highest praise.

Politely but firmly, he rejected Delitzsch's contention that Rapoport was a first-rate Hebrew poet. His *שארית ישראל* was replete with Germanisms and Gallicisms. Delitzsch even appeared to be unaware that the poem was an adaptation of Racine's *Esther*. "We do not intend to belittle Rapoport's reputation in the least when we call attention to his many shortcomings in diction anymore than we malign Krochmal when we find that his style is difficult and similar to that of Ibn Tibbon."¹¹⁴ Schorr called attention to the work of Aryeh Leib Kinderfreund (1798–1837), a competent Hebrew poet who, in his opinion, had been ignored or at least underrated.¹¹⁵

He concluded this lengthy review with a very sarcastic criticism of Isaac Baer Levinsohn's *בית יהודה* and as a result earned Levinsohn's life-long enmity. Schorr cited Levinsohn's introduction to the work and challenged the pretentious attempt to present in a single thin volume a comprehensive analysis of Judaism and Jewish history from its origins to the present day. "Heavens," he declared, "how can a work dealing with so many sublime subjects, each of which requires a profound exegesis that can only be exhausted in voluminous works, be dashed off in twenty-five pages?"¹¹⁶ He therefore accused Levinsohn of "unforgivable superficiality" and proceeded to castigate him for his many errors "which, were I to uncover them, would require a thick volume."¹¹⁷ He also upbraided Levinsohn for reading into talmudic texts ideas which were never intended and for misquoting texts to suit his purposes. True to his radical position, Schorr could not abide Levinsohn's *Doppelgängerei* (two-facedness). One could not be both a *Maskil* and a defender of superstitions at the same time.¹¹⁸

Both Delitzsch and Levinsohn reacted to these articles: the former in a series of letters which Jost published in the *Annalen* together with Schorr's rejoinder,¹¹⁹ and Levinsohn in an open letter attacking the young upstart which was circulated among the enlightened.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143. Schorr was very much impressed by Kinderfreund. See *אורות שר"ל*, pp. 386–87, where there is evidence that Schorr wrote an article on Kinderfreund in *כרם חמר* in 1837; it was not printed. See also Schorr's article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, II, Literary supplement, p. 104.

¹¹⁶ *Annalen*, II (1840), p. 152.

¹¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹⁹ *Annalen*, III (1841), pp. 116–17.

¹²⁰ באר יצחק (Warsaw, 1899), pp. 84–85.

Delitzsch's reaction was at first confined to private correspondence. However, early in 1841 Schorr published a short article in the *Annalen* on Erter in which he accused Delitzsch of criticizing Erter rashly and in an uninformed manner.¹²¹ As a consequence, Delitzsch wrote a very sharp letter to the *Annalen* in which he attacked both Schorr and Jost for maligning him unjustly. The letter concluded with a caustic sentence which cast aspersions on their religious liberalism: "Moreover, I am a Christian and do not appear before the forum of a cosmopolitan morality which rejects an ancestral religion for a few hollow concepts."¹²² Both Schorr and Jost did not flinch in the face of the innuendo, and Jost closed the argument with a remark that he "lacks the inclination or the desire to enter into a religious controversy."¹²³

In an unpublished letter to Abraham Dov Gottlober, Levinsohn related that "the great scholar Abraham Geiger wrote a long letter to Brody in praise of my book בית יהודה . . . and castigated the critic, [i. e., Schorr] who attacked it for no good reason."¹²⁴ I have already cited Erter's apology for Schorr's youthful exuberance.¹²⁵ Levinsohn never forgave Schorr for criticizing his work so severely.¹²⁶

Schorr's uncompromising attitude toward "half-baked" *Maskilim* is also reflected in his review of Zvi Hirsch Chajes' book מאמר אגרת על התרגום והמדרשים.הבקורת על התרגום והמדרשים.¹²⁷ He was in no way inhibited by the fact that Chajes was a close friend of Nahman Krochmal and had earned the respect of the enlightened by his tolerance toward them. After the perfunctory compliments about Chajes' diligence, he insisted that those elements of the book which were correct had already appeared in previous works, while those which were original were either incorrect or worthless. He also deplored the fact that Chajes did not refer to existing works on the subject, and concluded with the hope that the author's projected larger work would be clear of the many "barbarisms" which the present book unfortunately contained.

¹²¹ *Annalen*, III (1841), p. 7. This article subsequently appeared in Hebrew (ציון, II, 1842, pp. 29–32), but without the criticism of Delitzsch. In a postscript to his German article, Schorr referred to a letter which Delitzsch sent to a certain L. D. in Hamburg criticizing Schorr.

¹²² *Annalen*, III, p. 116. In all likelihood Delitzsch learned from the more traditional opponents of the *Annalen* that Jost and Schorr were reformists, hence this cutting phrase.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹²⁴ Quoted by Klausner: *op. cit.*, III, p. 79, n. 265. ¹²⁵ באר יצחק, pp. 62–63.

¹²⁶ Levinsohn wrote a series of sarcastic epigrams aimed at Schorr, חלקי, XII (1887), p. 128. (Warsaw, 1878), pp. 41–49. Schorr responded in kind, חלקי, XII (1887), p. 128.

¹²⁷ *Annalen*, II (1840), p. 180. See also his remarks in the letter reprinted in *Epistolae ad Sciadal*, (Trieste, 1900), p. 92.

Schorr was even less sympathetic in his treatment of Solomon Cohen's translation of Jost's history.¹²⁸ He was particularly incensed by Cohen's introductory remarks to the translation in which he stated that he often disagreed with Jost's conclusions, particularly whenever Jost "goes against the tradition of the sages." Schorr pointedly remarked that notwithstanding this opening reservation, Cohen's book was nothing less than a verbatim translation of Jost's work. Characteristically he could not forgive this meaningless and overly pious nod toward the tradition.

This critical review likewise provides us with a glimpse into Schorr's views on Jewish historiography. While he believed that the Bible contained an objective and highly readable historical narrative, he felt that the Rabbinic sources and Josephus were very unreliable. Even worse were the chronicles of medieval Jewry. The persecutions and insecurities which medieval Jews suffered did not permit the peace of mind so necessary for the writing of objective history. Consequently, Jost's book was in his opinion a great pioneer work despite the fact that its author had omitted many historical details, particularly those which had been amassed as a result of the intensive research which had been pursued during the previous decade (1830-40). Because he treated the sources critically and with caution and made use of many non-Jewish sources, Jost had surpassed all his medieval predecessors.

In a short article on the *Targumim*,¹²⁹ Schorr elaborated on a statement which he had made in an earlier letter to Luzzatto in 1837.¹³⁰ He then supported Luzzatto's view that the *Targumim* (and for that matter the oral law too) were not written down until the post-talmudic period and argued that neither Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, Chapter V), nor Geiger (*WZJT*, III, p. 106), proved their contention that they were written earlier. Curiously, Schorr omitted a talmudic source in support of his position which Luzzatto had called to his attention at the time.¹³¹ He was to develop his views on this subject further in the long review he later wrote on Geiger's *Urschrift* in *החלק*, IV (1859), pp. 70-83.

The concluding article of this series was a severe review of the second volume of *הרואה*,¹³² the anti-*Haskalah* magazine published by a number of "renegade" *Maskilim*. He took N. J. Fischmann and Mendel Mohr to task for attacking Reggio, Luzzatto and Rapoport

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-41, 250.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹³⁰ *אגרות שד"ל*, p. 366.

¹³¹ *Shabbath* 115a.

¹³² *Annalen*, II (1840), pp. 256-57.

and demonstrated the faultiness of their scholarship. Luzzatto was delighted by this skillful rebuttal of his enemies and praised Schorr highly for "fighting my battle against the false and wicked people."¹³³

As I have already indicated, Schorr wrote all his articles in Hebrew and they were translated into German for publication. The only significant Hebrew magazine, *כרם חמר*, remained closed to him as long as it was controlled by Goldenberg and Rapoport.¹³⁴ When Mordecai Creiznach and Jost began publishing their Hebrew magazine, *ציון*, in 1840, Schorr must have been delighted to find a periodical which would publish him in his original Hebrew. Once *ציון* began appearing, he practically ceased writing for the *Annalen*.¹³⁵

ציון was the first Hebrew monthly ever published. Its editors, Jost and Creiznach, were both committed to Reform and to the program of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Writing its opening editorial, Jost charged Creiznach with these words:

"You and your colleagues are toiling and laboring to disseminate science among Israel and to awaken the people from its slumber, so that they might hear and understand . . . their laws and their history . . . Speak the truth to your brothers who understand (the Hebrew says: speak) the holy tongue and who can discern between truth and falsehood. Let them unite as one to build one more house for the children of Israel in which all who know the law, who investigate antiquities, who love wisdom, science and morality can meet together . . ."

Of the six articles which Schorr published in *ציון*, only one, "A Critique of Some Matters in the Talmud," was blatantly reformist.¹³⁶

"During the last generation, no one had the courage to approach the castle of the Talmud and to illumine its chambers with the candle of criticism and intellect. All feared the wrath of the hypocrites and the zealots . . . But nowadays the fear of man no longer displaces the fear of God when it comes to truth and religion. Every day the number of those who love their God and their faith increases . . . and they place the Talmud in the testing furnace

¹³³ *אגרות ש"ל*, p. 705. See also *Epistolae ad Sciadal*, p. 92.

¹³⁴ Vol. VII, the last volume of *כרם חמר* under Goldenberg, appeared in 1843. Goldenberg died in 1846. In 1854 Senior Sachs undertook to revive the periodical and subsequently published two volumes: VIII (1854) and IX (1856). Schorr participated in the revived *כרם חמר*.

¹³⁵ The third volume of the *Annalen* (1841), contained these minor items by Schorr: the translation of the article on Erter (pp. 7-8.) and the exchange of letters with Delitzsch (pp. 116-17) mentioned before and probably the news items from Galicia and Brody on p. 190 and on p. 335. The latter was a short necrology of Judah Landau, Schorr's father-in-law.

¹³⁶ *ציון*, II (1842-43), pp. 10-12

in order to sift out of its dross the many golden nuggets which it contains. If the scholar and philosopher Naḥmanides found it necessary to declare that everything in the Talmud is the word of the living God, including the fantastic and corrupt *Aggadoth*, contemporary scholars need not agree with him . . . I have already said (*Annalen*, 1839, No. 22)¹³⁷ that the sages of our generation who love 'the good and the useful' will do well to view the Talmud with a critical eye . . . Subsequently I have presented to the scholar Jost a number of statements which I found in the Babylonian Talmud which indicate that the Amoraim misunderstood either a Mishnah or a Baraitha."¹³⁸

Thus Schorr launched his program of talmudic criticism with the avowed intention of shaking the authority of the Talmud. The earlier volumes of *החלוק* would be filled with similar catalogues of talmudic errors and discrepancies.

The remainder of his articles were in the area of *reine Wissenschaft*. Unlike his scientific reviews in the *Annalen*, few of these articles betray his reformist *tendenz*. There was, undoubtedly, a subconscious motivation for his biography of Aharon al-rabi, or as he is better known Aharon Abulrabi.¹³⁹ Reform scholars were fascinated by Jewish heterodoxies. In their battle for religious liberalism, they took special delight in pointing to historical antecedents which reflected unorthodox views.¹⁴⁰ One receives the distinct impression that Schorr, too, identified himself with this rationalist, fifteenth-century Rabbi and with the quasi-heretical image which he drew of him. He was prompted to report on Abulrabi because he had acquired a rare copy of the first edition (16th century) of the latter's commentary on Rashi.¹⁴¹

Among other things, Schorr believed that Abulrabi inferred that the Torah was first written in Arabic.¹⁴² He was mistaken. As Perles clearly demonstrated, his view was based upon a misinterpretation of

¹³⁷ *Annalen*, I, pp. 169-72.

¹³⁸ *ציון*, II, pp. 10-11.

¹³⁹ Aharon b. Gershon Abulrabi, see *E. J.*, I, pp. 657-58. Klausner need not have hesitated to make this identification, *op. cit.*, IV², p. 51, n. 10a. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* mistakenly states that Schorr misnamed Abulrabi's father. The error was made by Karpeles: *Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur*, (Berlin, 1886), p. 771 and by David Cassel, *Lehrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 344. Schorr's article appears in *ציון*, I, pp. 166-68, 193-96.

¹⁴⁰ Thus for example Geiger's and Reggio's interest in Leone da Modena.

¹⁴¹ Mr. Moses Marx of the HUC Library staff informed me that the Library possesses one page of another edition of the four commentaries from the same general period.

¹⁴² *ציון*, I (1840), p. 194.

a number of passages in the commentary.¹⁴³ On the other hand, notwithstanding Perles' assertion that Abulrabi cannot be characterized as a rationalist because he believed in Cabbalah and astrology,¹⁴⁴ Schorr was, I believe, quite correct in considering him as such. There were 15th century neo-Platonists who believed that the Cabbalah and astrology were sciences and, who, therefore, for their time, could be described as rationalists. Schorr also relished Abulrabi's rather harsh treatment of rabbinic authorities whenever he disagreed with them.¹⁴⁵

His long review of Samson Levi Bloch's translation of Zunz's book on Rashi,¹⁴⁶ although basically a list of scholarly emendations to Zunz's work, gives us some insight into Schorr's attitude toward Zunz and his translator. "The two scholars," he declared, "are famous. It is superfluous in my opinion to praise their work. A man can rest on his reputation. One can be certain that neither will ever put out anything which is not well wrought."¹⁴⁷

I have already alluded to Schorr's contact with Bloch in earlier years. At the close of this article, he expressed his hope that Bloch would publish the volume of his geography which deals with Europe.¹⁴⁸ His opinion of Zunz bordered on exaltation. The Hebrew University autograph collection contains a letter which Schorr wrote to Zunz in 1862, in which he stated:

"I am your son and you are my patron father. I am entirely your disciple and you are my guide. I am your grateful and faithful pupil and you are my forgiving master and teacher . . . When I stayed in Leipzig eight years ago I used to visit your home . . ."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ Perles: "Aharon b. Gershon Abulrabi" [offprint of *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XXI] (Paris, 1891), pp. 4-6. Luzzatto called this fact to Schorr's attention and was incensed at Schorr when the latter refused to correct this mistake. מאגריה שד"ל, p. 1174. The abbreviation הח"פ which Schorr quoted either indicates, as Luzzatto believed, הצור חמים פעלו (*loc. cit.*) or is a misprint in the original print for 1420 = הק"פ as Perles suggested, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 20. Schorr was aware of this interest in Cabbalah and astrology. ציין, I, p. 195.

¹⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 167, 194-95.

¹⁴⁶ Zunz's original article was entitled "Salomon ben Isaac" and appeared in the *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, I (1822), pp. 277-384. Bloch's book was published in Lemberg, 1840, and Schorr's article in ציין, II (1842), pp. 111-12, 126-27, 147-50.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁸ The volume was edited and published posthumously by Schorr's brother Naftali. שבילי עולם, וזהב שבעה. III (Lemberg, 1855).

¹⁴⁹ There is no evidence that Schorr dwelt in Leipzig for any length of time. The Hebrew root ישב could refer to a prolonged visit. As a Brody merchant he must have visited Leipzig a number of times.

In 1884, on the occasion of Zunz's 90th birthday, Schorr wrote to him:

"When I studied your book *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* I underwent a metamorphosis. The blindness fell from my eyes and there was light. I attempted to follow your path, to probe the roots of your research and from then on, to this day, in your light do I see light. If at times I succeeded in coming up with a worthwhile remark — it came from you, O mighty sage. Indeed, all of us, your contemporaries who have made scholarship their guiding light . . . , all of us are your disciples."¹⁵⁰

Unfortunately, ציון like the *Annalen* was short-lived. Creiznach, its chief editor, died in the autumn of 1842, and Jost who had to close the *Annalen* because he claimed that his journalistic labors interfered with his more scholarly pursuits, announced the demise of ציון. With the cessation of ציון, Schorr's literary output fell off. Between 1842 and 1851, when he launched החלוץ, he wrote only four articles. Three of these were published in letter form by Senior Sachs, the editor who renewed the publication of כרם חמר in 1854. The last appeared in German translation in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*.

The relationship between Schorr and Sachs dated back to 1839-40, when Sachs lived in Brody and became a member of the Erter-Schorr circle. Later, when Sachs edited היונה (Berlin, 1851), and התחיה (Berlin, 1850), Schorr corresponded with him.¹⁵¹ Sachs published these letters (written in 1849-50) in the revived כרם חמר.¹⁵² From their tone we learn that Schorr considered himself to be Sachs's teacher and mentor. Both he and Erter, Schorr remarked in the opening letter, were "dissatisfied with the sharp and satirical words which Sachs employed against great and able men." Odd counsel from Schorr, who never could resist brandishing his satirical rapier in his critical articles!

We learn that Schorr was in Odessa in 1849,¹⁵³ and that in 1850 he had strained his eyes so badly that he was unable to read for an entire

¹⁵⁰ This letter appeared in עברי אנכי, XX (1884), pp. 339-40. Schorr also contributed an article to the *Festschrift* published in honor of the occasion: הלכות גדולות, הלכות פסוקות, הלכות קצובות *Jubelschrift zum neunzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. Leopold Zunz* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 125-46.

For bibliographical completeness, we note Schorr's articles on the halachic compendia שבלי הלקט (ציון, I, pp. 93-98; 110-15) and ספר החניא (*ibid.*, pp. 147-48). In his edition of שבלי הלקט (Vilna, 1887), Solomon Buber praised the former article but indicated that he disagreed with many of his conclusions (p. 2, n. A.). In addition he also wrote a review of Erter's short story תשליך (ציון, II [1841], pp. 29-32). Erter's story was published by M. Landau (Prague, 1841). This review first appeared in a German translation in *Annalen*, III (1841), pp. 7-8.

¹⁵¹ See frontispiece to היונה, (Berlin, 1851).

¹⁵² כרם חמר, VIII (1854), pp. 54-63.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 60. Schorr indicated he was in Odessa in *Elul* 5609 or *Tishri* 5610.

month.¹⁵⁴ Although he frequently complained of his preoccupation with business affairs,¹⁵⁵ he nevertheless found time to acquire new manuscripts for his library, to examine various manuscripts available in Odessa and even to copy numerous quotations from these works.

Schorr's relationship with Sachs was destined to deteriorate. Sachs, like many of Schorr's other friends, could not abide Schorr's rationalism and radicalism. In 1858, he attacked Schorr's "mockery of our rabbis of blessed memory" in a lead article which he wrote for *המניח*. He had the courtesy to cushion his sharp blows with a reference to their "boyhood friendship."¹⁵⁶ Two years later, he repeated his attack on both Schorr and Abraham Krochmal (Nahman Krochmal's son), insisting that he was writing without rancour but with regret.¹⁵⁷

The article which he wrote for Geiger's magazine was entitled "*Nissim ben Jakob und sein מנעולי החלמוד*"¹⁵⁸ and was likewise of a scholarly nature. Schorr described in detail a seventeenth-century (1619) Italian manuscript of Rabbenu Nissim's commentary which Schorr's brother Isaac possessed,¹⁵⁹ expanded upon Rapoport's remarks on the work and corrected a number of his errors.¹⁶⁰ To this day, the article remains a basic study of *ספר המפתח* although Schorr erroneously believed that it was only written for tractates *Berachoth*, *Shabbath* and *Eruvin*.¹⁶¹

During this period Schorr became strongly attached to Geiger and henceforth remained his firm admirer. His acquaintanceship with Geiger's scholarly work dated back to the beginning of the forties.¹⁶² By 1841, they were firm friends and corresponded with each other.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.

¹⁵⁶ *המניח*, II (1858), p. 173.

¹⁵⁷ קיקין יונה, (Paris, 1860), pp. 7–8, n. 1.

¹⁵⁸ *WZJT*, V (1844), pp. 431–45.

¹⁵⁹ Jacob Goldenthal, a mutual friend of the Schorr brothers, published the manuscript in Vienna, 1847. Oddly enough, Goldenthal did not refer even once to Schorr's article in his introduction; he did, however, acknowledge that the manuscript was from Isaac's library.

¹⁶⁰ בכורי העתים, XII (1831), pp. 56–83. Rapoport dealt with the book on pp. 57–58.

¹⁶¹ This was the extent of the manuscript he possessed, but an apparent fragment of the *מפתח* to Sanhedrin was found in the Cairo Genizah and was published by Israel Levi "Un fragment du *Maftéah* de R. Nissim," *REJ*, XLIV (1902), pp. 294–97. See Poznanski, *אנשי קירואן* (Warsaw, 1909), p. 37.

¹⁶² Schorr first referred to Geiger in his article on the Targumim (*Annalen*, II [1840], p. 160). Luzzatto mentioned Geiger's magazine in a letter dated December 12, 1838, (*אנרות שד"ל*, p. 567) but Rapoport may have called Schorr's attention to the magazine earlier.

¹⁶³ *אנרות שד"ל*, pp. 724, 733. Schorr was by then transmitting Luzzatto's letters to Geiger. See *ibid.*, pp. 784, 841.

Ludwig Geiger published six long letters which his father wrote to Schorr in 1853.¹⁶⁴ They were edited and unfortunately stripped of any personal allusions. Schorr's letters were not preserved. The topics which Geiger discussed covered a wide range of subjects, including Karaitica, Geiger's rather negative attitude to modern Hebrew, Reform, Orthodoxy, Luzzatto, and what Geiger called, the romantic-orthodox school of Jewish scholarship.

Perhaps the only major difference of opinion between the two friends was over the role of modern Hebrew. Geiger felt that writing in modern Hebrew inhibited clear expression and led to anachronistic modes of thought. "One does not translate (his ideas) into one's own mode of thought but (mistakenly) gets to be at home in the rabbinic-talmudic way of thinking with which the language has in the course of time been identified."¹⁶⁵ For this reason, he asserted, the Spanish Jewish scholars exercised good judgment when they wrote their major non-halachic works in Arabic.

Characteristically, he brusquely dismissed Schorr's question regarding Abraham Mapu's literary talents with the following remark: "These new aesthetic products in Hebrew are almost without exception worthless in the aesthetic sense . . . A dead language is not suitable for fiction. It is more suitable for scientific works where the contents and not the form is essential Do not counter with the Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages. Arabic is so closely related . . . and yet the best poets of that school often sound harsh and non-Hebraic. There are only two who really could claim the name of poet: Gabirol and Yehuda Halevi . . . Even worse stuff is the later modern Hebrew poetry."¹⁶⁶

Unlike Geiger, Schorr was profoundly interested in the development of modern Hebrew. As we have seen, his long critical article on Delitzsch's *History of New Hebrew Poetry* testified to both his keen scholarship and his literary discrimination. Later, as editor of *החלוץ*, he was to write with real affection for the Hebrew language. This love of Hebrew was typical of all factions within the Galician school and sharply contrasted with the usual indifference and even the condescension which most Germans of Geiger's generation maintained toward modern Hebrew. This difference of attitude can be attributed to the particular social and political conditions of the Galician community. Its large, unemancipated Jewish population, a minority within a

¹⁶⁴ "Literaturbriefe aus dem Jahre 1853," *Nachgelassene Schriften*, II (Berlin, 1875), pp. 277-369.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

¹⁶⁶ Letter IV, pp. 327-29.

land of minorities, maintained the old group loyalties to people, language and religion.

By 1853, Schorr must have agreed fully with Geiger's remarks about Luzzatto: "a mixture of biblical beliefs and free-thinking criticism."¹⁶⁷ Years later, in a letter to Felsenthal, Schorr had this to say about his relationship with Geiger:

"I received Volume II of Rabbi Geiger's *Nachgelassene Schriften* which contained 'the literary letters of 1853' which were written to me. They were greatly altered but I do not know whether they were altered by the author or his editor [Ludwig Geiger]. I carried on a very friendly correspondence with him for five years.¹⁶⁸ When his great work the *Urschrift* was published, I criticized it impartially, but I did not tell the whole story (החלוק IV) [pp. 70-83]. Later I expressed the opinion that he overdid his Zadokite theory — a highly tenuous theory by which he squeezed an elephant through the eye of a needle. A hint to the wise is sufficient."¹⁶⁹

Geiger was deeply interested in Schorr's activities and was one of the more active contributors to החלוק. The six articles¹⁷⁰ which he wrote, however, dealt with *Reine Wissenschaft* rather than with reformist ideas. Geiger felt that Hebrew was unsuitable for modern polemics. With the exception of אף שברי לוחות מונחים בארון, a stringent treatment of Rapoport's ערך מלין his articles contained little of *Haskalah* politics. Geiger was the last to withdraw as a contributor to the magazine.¹⁷¹ His opinion of the significance of Schorr's contribution to Jewish scholarship was reflected in the many review articles which Geiger published in both his *Jüdische Zeitschrift*¹⁷² and in the very

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

¹⁶⁸ This is inaccurate. The correspondence appears to have lasted much longer.

¹⁶⁹ See my Schorr letters, *HUCA* (1957), [Hebrew section] p. 5. In an article which he published in עברי אנכי, XIV (1878), p. 329, Schorr relates that he visited Geiger's home and mentions that Geiger sent him every volume of his magazine *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* except Vol. X. "This dear Rabbi of blessed memory was my friend and ally for about thirty years."

¹⁷⁰ a) מאמר על ר' לוי בר' אברהם בר' חיים II (1853), pp. 12-27.

b) הערות קטנות בחכמת הלשון III (1856), pp. 74-80.

c) אף שברי לוחות מונחים בארון IV (1859), pp. 50-59.

d) סומכוס המעתיק היוני V (1860), pp. 26-31.

e) בחולה בעמיו V (1860), pp. 73-75.

f) על איזה מחלוקת אשר בין הצדוקים והנללים עליהם ובין הפרושים וכו' VI (1861), pp. 13-30.

¹⁷¹ He published his last article in Vol. VI; his was the only one in that volume written by an author other than Schorr.

¹⁷² *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, IV (1866), pp. 67-80 and VIII (1870), pp. 168-71.

important German orientalist periodical *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.¹⁷³ In a long review which he published in the *Jüdische Zeitschrift*,¹⁷⁴ he complimented Schorr for the fresh and youthful tone of his magazine and congratulated him for including in its scope not only biblical and talmudic studies but also medieval studies. Schorr, in his opinion, was a profound and brilliant scholar and החלוץ, in contrast to many other periodicals, possessed lasting value.

In his later reviews, Geiger, while still complimentary, tended to stress the weaker elements in Schorr's scholarship. In his second article in the *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, for example, he expressed the view that Schorr's Iranian-Jewish studies contain many "rash" philological analyses, and he gently suggested that Schorr should return to his talmudic (particularly Jerushalmi) and medieval studies, areas in which his competence is unquestioned.¹⁷⁵ His last article on Schorr in the *ZDMG* criticized him for repeating ideas in biblical scholarship which have already been published, and gently rebuked him for not being *au courant* in his reading.¹⁷⁶ Both these critical articles were written after Geiger withdrew from החלוץ and their tone may reflect a cooling of their friendship, although it must be said that throughout his life Schorr retained a very high esteem for Geiger's scholarship.

IV.

The personal image of Schorr in his twenties and thirties, which emerges from the sources, is that of an energetic, successful and amiable young man. Like most Eastern European youths of his class, he was at first free from the task of making a living and devoted all his time to scholarly pursuits. By 1842, he had published numerous articles in the German-Jewish press and was admitted to the inner circle of Jewish scholarship of his day.

Schorr's commitments to Judaism, Jewish studies, and Hebrew were typical of his fellow *Maskilim*. Yet, despite his strong desire to preserve these values, he was not prepared to compromise with scientific truth. He might speak of the *juste milieu* but if a traditional idea conflicted with *truth*, it had to go. Not only was he prepared to question the authority of the Talmud and to doubt fundamental doctrines of orthodox Judaism, but he was ready to emend Scripture as well.

¹⁷³ *ZDMG*, XI (1857), pp. 332-34; XIII (1859), pp. 713-14; XV (1861), pp. 416-19; XVI (1862), pp. 287-94.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, IV (1866), pp. 67-80.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII (1870), p. 171.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI (1862), pp. 287-94.

Like his fellow reformers of the period, he believed that Judaism would survive only if it were prepared to change in the face of the new situation and if it were made to conform with scientific truth. The changes he advocated were not to be justified on *traditional-halachic* grounds, but on the understanding of the historical processes of Judaism.

In his quest for truth the young Schorr gave no quarter to personal considerations. He was ready to jettison friendships in its service. He could be merciless in his criticism, and his strong satirical bent had already begun to develop. On the other hand, little of his subsequent bitterness was manifest in this period. He was socially well-adjusted, a good and warm friend and an enthusiastic advocate. Although here and there we have some evidence of his later miserliness,¹⁷⁷ he usually appeared to be generous of both his time and his money.

His scholarly success was paralleled by the good fortune he enjoyed in his personal life. In 1840 (1839?)¹⁷⁸ he married Zisla (Naomi) Landau, the daughter of Judah Landau, the wealthy head of one of Brody's first families.¹⁷⁹ With Zisla came a sizeable dowry and soon an appointment to the Community Council. In honor of the wedding Luzzatto dedicated his edition of Yehudah Halevi's poetry to the young couple and even alluded to the bride's father in the title which he selected for the book: *בתולת בת יהודה*.¹⁸⁰ The marriage was a very happy one and was blessed by a son, Jacob Schorr, who in turn was both gifted and successful.

Soon after his marriage Schorr suffered severe financial reverses.

¹⁷⁷ See for example Luzzatto's remarks about his "penny pinching" when it came to the publication costs of *בתולת בת יהודה* (אגרות שד"ל, p. 652).

¹⁷⁸ According to Klausner (*op. cit.*, IV, p. 60) they were married on the Friday preceding Shabbath Naḥamu 5599 = 1839. This is based on a reference to that date in one of Luzzatto's letters (אגרות שד"ל, p. 620). However, subsequent letters seem to indicate that they were married later (*ibid.*, pp. 655, 659), and only in the letter of May 11, 1840 (*ibid.*, p. 689) did Luzzatto indicate that the marriage had taken place.

¹⁷⁹ Judah Landau (1778-1841) served as the head of the Brody community for many years. His other daughter Minna married Leon Ephrusi, the Odessa banker, with whom Schorr's son Jacob was later associated. Landau was a *Maskil* who was friendly with Letteris and with Levinsohn. (The poem חולעים was dedicated by Levinsohn to his son Eliezer and not to Landau himself as Gelber reported.) He was a signatory of a petition to the Kaiser presented in 1830, asking that the Jews be permitted to make mortgage loans, to acquire civil rights, to be elected to the Town Council and to establish a Rabbinical seminary in Brody. He was the chief proponent of the Jewish *Realschule* which was established in Brody in 1823 (Gelber, ברודי, pp. 213-14, 174, 185, 188-89, 244, 255; *Annalen*, III [1841], p. 335).

¹⁸⁰ *בתולת בת יהודה* (Prague, 1840).

According to Seidel, he had invested the dowry which he received with some prominent merchants but the enterprise failed. He was, fortunately, able to recoup his wealth in 1848 through an association with his brother-in-law Leon Ephrusi, a wealthy Odessan banker and merchant, who accorded him an agency for the sale of tallow and woolen goods.¹⁸¹ The unexpected crisis and the new commercial venture which followed in its wake probably accounted for the decline in Schorr's literary productivity after 1842. It is also quite likely that, following the custom of the day, after his father-in-law's death in 1841,¹⁸² the young scholar was cast into the business world and had less free time for study. At any rate, we find that Schorr made several business trips to Odessa during this period.¹⁸³

He kept abreast of international Jewish affairs. In 1841, he reprimanded Luzzatto for not informing him of Lilienthal's mission to Russia and the role which Luzzatto played in this abortive attempt to "civilize" Russian Jewry. This evoked Luzzatto's apology that he was pledged to secrecy, because Uvarov, the Russian minister of education who suggested the mission, insisted upon it. Luzzatto also expressed his dismay that both Zunz and Geiger had been unable to contain themselves and had made the news public.¹⁸⁴

He was also occupied with communal politics, particularly during the stormy period of the revolution of 1848. The revolution made a deep impression on the Brody community. Of all the "Jewish" cities in Galicia, only Brody elected a Jew to Parliament; he was the Viennese "preacher" Isaac Noah Mannheimer. Schorr was a member of the Brody election committee and signed the election report as a *Gemeindevorsteher*.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 6. Seidel claims that in 1851, when Schorr published the first volume of החלון, he was unable to pay the printer and had to get the money from Moses Kalir. This seems unlikely because according to Seidel himself he recouped his losses in 1848. (See Klausner, *op. cit.*, p. 60, n. 16).

¹⁸² Judah Landau died on September 21, 1841 (*Annalen*, III [1841], p. 335).

¹⁸³ At least three trips are mentioned in our sources, in 1848 [Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 11], in 1849 (כרם חמד, VIII [1854], p. 60), and in 1850 (החלון, IX [1873], p. 6).

¹⁸⁴ אגרות שר"ל, II, p. 753. Lilienthal had written to Luzzatto asking him to describe the curriculum of the school and to suggest the names of alumni of the *Collegio rabbinico* who might be considered for teaching posts in Russian schools which he planned to found. In a note to his first letter he told Luzzatto that Uvarov had expressly prohibited the publication of any news of the project. See David Philipson: "Max Lilienthal in Russia," *HUCA*, XII-XIII (1937-38), p. 827 [English translation, p. 829.]

¹⁸⁵ The document is reprinted by Gelber, *op. cit.*, p. 390. Among the other signatories is Isaac Erter.

This we know: the success of the revolution prompted Schorr and Erter to launch their new organ החלוץ in 1851. With the appearance of החלוץ, Schorr emerged not only as the apostle of the left wing of the Galician movement, but as one of the leaders of *Jüdische Wissenschaft* in his day.

(To be continued)

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KARAITE TENDENCIES IN AN EARLY REFORM HAGGADAH

A Study in Comparative Liturgy

JAKOB J. PETUCHOWSKI

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati

מוקדש לזכר נשמת רבי ומורי ד"ר שמואל שמחה כהן זצ"ל

I. THE WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE OF BRITISH JEWS

THE opening of a Reform synagogue in London — the West London Synagogue of British Jews — in 1842 was preceded by some two decades of agitation in both the Spanish and Portuguese and the German-Polish communities of the British capital.¹ The "reforms" contemplated had very little in common with the ideologies of Reform Judaism forged by men like Abraham Geiger and Samuel Holdheim in Germany, or with the concept of "progressive revelation" which was the foundation of the "Pittsburgh Platform" in America. The agitations in England, far from calling into question the traditional theology, merely aimed at introducing greater decorum into the worship service. This was to be accomplished by abbreviating the liturgy, by having a sermon in the vernacular, by employing a trained choir, and also by having divine services at "more convenient hours."

How little of real radicalism there was involved in all of this becomes apparent once we realize that, even when the Reform synagogue was finally established in 1842, no *doctrinal* changes were made

¹ On the rise of the Reform Movement in England cf.: —

James Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*. London, Trübner & Co., 1875, pp. 367-85;

David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*. New York, Macmillan, 1907, pp. 122-46;

Albert M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*. London, Methuen, 1951, pp. 269-95.

For some of the information contained in this study, and for making some of the essential books available to me, I am indebted to Mr. Leonard G. Montefiore, O.B.E., of London, to Mr. Sefton D. Temkin, Fellow at the HUC - JIR; to Mr. A. Silverman, Secretary of the West London Synagogue of British Jews; and to M. Selim Y. Chamuel, General Secretary of the Council of the Communauté Israelite Karaim of Cairo, Egypt, U.A.R.

in the prayers. David Philipson was wrong when he described the first edition of the English Reform prayer book as having eliminated "petitions for the restoration of the sacrificial cult in the Temple of Jerusalem."² Not only were those petitions not deleted until 1888, but, as we shall have occasion to see, the first edition of the Reform liturgy actually included *new* petitions for the restoration of the sacrificial cult, not found in the traditional prayer book. An organ was not placed in the sanctuary until 1859, when the congregation already occupied its second house of worship (dedicated in 1849); and the separation of the sexes was maintained until after the First World War.

There were, however, two items in the reformers' list of desiderata which were to have more far-reaching consequences. One was merely an administrative matter. The reformers belonging to the Spanish and Portuguese community declared themselves satisfied to let the service at the Bevis Marks synagogue remain as it was, — provided they could obtain permission to remain members of the congregation while erecting their own house of worship in closer proximity to their residences. This request looks innocent enough. But it did conflict with the first *ascamah*, or by-law, of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation, which insisted that no other synagogue could be established within the City of London. In fact, this provision was accompanied by the threat of *herem*, and it applied even in the case where the new synagogue was to be conducted on strictly traditional lines. That an exception would be made in the case of a synagogue with pronounced "reform" tendencies was therefore all the more unlikely. And much of the acrimony which marked the rise of the Reform movement in England, the excommunication which was imposed (and ultimately revoked), and the split which was caused in the leading families of Anglo-Jewry, had at least as much to do with this purely administrative question as it did with deeper theological implications. Yet the latter were not altogether absent.

For the second desideratum was nothing more, and nothing less, than the abolition of the "second days" of the Festivals. This demand *was* to lead to a re-appraisal of the whole of Rabbinic theology. To the Orthodox it represented a severe case of insubordination to the authority of Tradition; and the battle-lines were drawn. A number of pamphleteers took up the cudgels for and against the "Oral Law."³ It appears that the Reformers granted the Orthodox premisses, viz.,

² Philipson, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 f.

³ See the literature listed in Cecil Roth, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*. rev. ed. London, Jewish Historical Society of England, 1937, p. 274.

that they could not abolish the "second days" of the Festivals and, at the same time, remain within the Rabbinic framework. Thus they went from the defense over to the offensive. They attacked the validity of the "Oral Law" as a whole, and, in so doing, they took their stand on the literal meaning of the Bible as against the Rabbinic "elaborations."

There remains the question, however, whether all this fierce opposition on the part of the Reformers to the "Oral Law" was called forth solely by the controversy about the "second days," or whether there was not in England some kind of "subterranean" opposition to the "Oral Law" all along. After all, only a little more than a century before, David Nieto, the *haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London, found it necessary to devote his *magnum opus*, *Matteh Dan* or *Kuzari Heleq Sheni*, to a defense of the "Oral Law," and to a refutation of the arguments then brought against it. Nieto, of course, was dealing with ex-Marranos who, having had no knowledge of Judaism outside of what the *Bible* had to say about it, found it difficult to adjust to the strange, and hitherto unknown, phenomenon of Rabbinic Judaism.⁴ It is, at any rate, significant that a translation of the first two chapters of Nieto's work was issued in 1842 and in 1845 as a pamphlet against the Reformers.⁵ The answer to this question would involve a thorough study of the families in Anglo-Jewry in the 18th and 19th centuries, together with such information as may be available in regard to their religious allegiances. This remains a task for the study of Reform origins in England.

Here we shall confine ourselves to what is definitely known about the views of the 19th-century Reformers in England. Their position is perhaps most clearly stated in the sermon which the Rev. David Woolf Marks delivered at the opening of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, on January 27th, 1842: —

"Now, let it not be supposed, that it is the intention of myself, or of any member of this congregation, whose humble organ I am, to impugn, in any way, the character of the traditional records. On the contrary, we recognize in them a valuable aid for the elucidation of many passages in Scripture: we feel proud of them as a monument of the zeal and mental activity of our ancestors; we hold it our duty to reverence the sayings of men, who, we are convinced, would have sacrificed their lives for the maintenance of that Law which God has vouchsafed to deliver unto us; but we must (as our conviction urges us) solemnly deny, that a belief in the *divinity* of the traditions contained in the Mishna, and the

⁴ Cf. Jakob J. Petuchowski, *The Theology of Haham David Nieto*. New York, Bloch, 1954, *passim*.

⁵ Cf. Petuchowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, is of equal obligation to the Israelite with the faith in the divinity of the Law of Moses. We know that these books are human compositions; and though we are content to accept with reverence from our post-biblical ancestors advice and instruction, we cannot *unconditionally* accept their laws. For Israelites, there is but One immutable Law — the sacred volume of the Scriptures, commanded by God to be written down for the unerring guidance of his people until the end of time.”⁶

Marks was serious in his allegiance to the “Law of Moses.” In the same dedication sermon he called for the “rigid practical observance of the Mosaic Law,”⁷ while, in another sermon, he exhorted his congregants to

“adhere to our ritual as second in importance only to the spirit of our faith, and confine it to what the Bible enjoins and to those post-Biblical ordinances, the aim and object of which are in our own times to bring the ethical ideal of the covenant of Sinai more closely home to our feelings and to our reason. Need I mention such binding ritual precepts as the Abrahamitic rite, the solemnization of the Sabbath and the Biblical festivals and holydays, and the offering up of public and private devotion? These at least, not to mention others, are binding on the whole house of Israel. They are avowedly intended to be perpetual, and over them time can work no change . . .”⁸

The last sentence, at least by implication, leaves open the possibility that there *are* biblical laws over which time *can* work change; and, indeed, Marks was quite ready to admit this. On another occasion he specifically states that “in the Pentateuch there is much, including levitical and canonical precepts, the laws relating to land, inheritance, etc., etc., that has a local bearing, and is not intended to be in force in all places.”⁹ He justifies this statement by invoking such verses as Lev. 23.9 f., and Num. 15.2. After all, this was the 19th century, and knowledge of what was being preached at the Hamburg Temple had come to England. Besides, a strict observance of all the provisions of the Mosaic Law (which, in many instances, is, of course, much more stringent than the Rabbinic interpretation) would have been self-defeating for British Jews on the verge of Emancipation.

We cannot, therefore, in the light of all the sentiments quoted

⁶ Discourse delivered by the Rev. D. W. Marks at the Consecration of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, January 27, 1842. This was published at the time, and reprinted in *The Synagogue Review* (London) of February 1942, pp. 133–41. Our quotation is from *The Synagogue Review*, p. 135.

⁷ Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁸ David Woolf Marks, *Lectures and Sermons*, Vol. III. London 1884, p. 52.

⁹ *Idem*, *Sermons*, Vol. II. London 1862, p. 25.

above, describe the Rev. Mr. Marks as a Karaite, — even though playing off the Bible against the Talmud has been a Karaite characteristic from the days of Anan b. David. It is, in fact, somewhat doubtful whether Marks himself knew very much about the Karaites. He himself, at any rate, did not invoke them as a precedent. But some of his co-workers did!

Among the pamphlets written in 1842 there was one anonymously published by A. Benisch, under the title: *Is the Oral Law of Divine Origin and therefore Binding upon the Jews? By one of themselves.*" Benisch answered the question with an emphatic "yes." Among his arguments he adduced the predicament of a hypothetical Jew, living in the cold regions of Russia, who is trying to obey the *biblical* Sabbath law. Obviously, without the legal fictions introduced by the Rabbis, this Jew could not observe the Sabbath at all; and, rather than pay lip-service to a Law which cannot be observed, his son and grandson would complete the process of total alienation from Judaism. It followed, therefore, that the "Oral Law" was a *sine qua non* of the proper fulfillment of the Written Law!

Benisch's pamphlet called forth, in the same year, a reply by A. Theodores, also published anonymously: *The Oral Law and Its Defenders. A Review. By a Scripturalist.*

Theodores comments on Benisch's hypothetical Russian Jew: —

"All these suppositions, all these gaudy hypotheses are mere shadows, unsubstantial vapours, and less, by the side of the fact, that *there are* people living in those very hyperborean regions, who upon principle reject the Talmud, who deride the rabbins, and who have nevertheless remained *strict* and honoured followers of the law of Moses, in spite of the awful persecutions directed against them by the Moslems, the Christians, and, alas! by the Jew; of course, we mean the Caraites, respecting whose morality and piety there is but one opinion among all writers. These anti-rabbinical Jews have done what 'One of Themselves' pronounces impossible, for they have adhered to the law of God, as set forth in the Pentateuch, and as conditioned by circumstances, *ever since the age when the Talmud began to be recognised as the standard law.* Whatever the belief in the Talmud, then, may be said to have done for the preservation of the Rabbinites, the *disbelief* in the Talmud has done for the Anti-rabbinites."¹⁰

This invocation of the Karaites, and of their morality and piety, looks like more than a mere rejection of the "divinity" of the "Oral Law." Theodores, at least, must have seen in them valued and esteemed allies in the battle against Rabbinism. It is also interesting to

¹⁰ *The Oral Law and Its Defenders*, p. 50.

note that, at the very time when, in Germany, Geiger was defending himself against the charge of Karaism by labelling the Orthodox as "Talmud-Karaites,"¹¹ an English Reformer went out of his way to make common cause with this anti-rabbinical sect. There is, moreover, further evidence that Marks did not tell the whole story when he, in his gentlemanly and Victorian fashion, merely rejected the "divinity" of the "Oral Law," while otherwise claiming to treat it with great reverence and respect.

In 1836/37, the Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D. published a series of articles, under the general title of "*The Old Paths; or A Comparison of the Principles and Doctrines of Modern Judaism with the Religion of Moses and the Prophets.*" In these articles, McCaul made some fierce attacks on the Talmud, in a missionary endeavor to prove that the "Religion of Moses and the Prophets" finds its true fulfillment in the New Testament, rather than in Rabbinic Judaism. The individual titles of some of the articles tell their own story: "Rabbinic Intolerance towards other Nations"; "Talmudic Intolerance contrasted with the Charity of the Bible"; "Severity of the Rabbinic Ordinances"; and "Cruelty to the Unlearned."¹²

Ultimately these various articles were published together in book form. In his preface to the second edition, in 1854, McCaul had this to say: —

"Nine years have now elapsed since 'The Old Paths' appeared as a volume. They have been translated, in the meantime, into Hebrew, German, and French; and their merits discussed by the learned and unlearned of the Jewish people, in all the countries of their dispersion. The reception has in general been favourable, and the effect upon the Jewish mind perceptible. Since their first appearance, the West London Synagogue and the Liturgies of the British Jews, both renouncing that which 'The Old Paths' pronounced objectionable, have started into existence."¹³

Now, it is not to be supposed that the English Reformers were guided by McCaul's particular brand of opposition to the Talmud, any more than McCaul can be trusted when he claims a favorable reception of his work among the Jews. But that, rightly or wrongly, McCaul was able to list the English Reformers as kindred spirits, and as "renouncing" the Rabbinic Tradition, would indicate that, unlike Marks himself, there were those among the English Reformers who

¹¹ Cf. Philipson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹² On McCaul, cf. Joseph Jacobs, in *J.E.*, Vol. VIII, p. 396.

¹³ Alexander McCaul, *The Old Paths*. London 1854, "Advertisement to the Second Edition." (No page number.)

did *not* "feel proud of," or "revere" the Rabbinic Tradition. There must have been those among them who would have agreed with McCaul that "the promised German translation of the Talmud, if ever completed, must, without any discussion, overthrow Talmudism. Its exhibition in any European language is the most fatal attack that can be made on its authority. It needs only to be seen as it is, in order to be rejected."¹⁴ Such was understood to have been the intention of Benjamin Elkin, one of the leading Reformers, when, without the translators' consent, he published, in 1843, the *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna*, translated by D. A. de Sola and M. J. Raphall.¹⁵

Withal, 19th-century British Reform Judaism initiated no radical "Back to the Scriptures!" movement; and, with the exception of the abolition of the "second days" of the Festivals, the Reformers, by and large, maintained much of the traditional pattern. What practical consequences there were of the anti-rabbinic orientation can best be seen in a scrutiny of the liturgy produced by that group. We use the word scrutiny advisedly, for, at a first glance, the liturgy makes an absolutely traditional-rabbinical impression.

II. THE LITURGY OF THE WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE

When the advocates of "reform" proved to be unsuccessful in the Spanish and Portuguese and the German-Polish synagogues of London, nineteen members of the former and five members of the latter held a meeting at the Bedford Hotel in Southampton Row. The date was April 15th, 1840. There and then they founded the Synagogue of British Jews (later altered to West London Synagogue of British Jews). Though the group was not to meet as an established congregation for another two years, the services of a minister were already engaged, — one of his principal duties being the drawing up of an order of service.¹⁶

The minister chosen was David Woolf Marks (1811–1909). Marks, for a time, had been assistant reader and secretary of the Liverpool synagogue. He had already manifested his "reform" tendencies by refusing to read from the Torah on the second days of the Festivals, and was thus the logical choice of the founders of the Reform Movement. In addition to serving the West London Synagogue during some sixty years, he also occupied the chair of Hebrew at University College, London, from 1848 until 1898.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ On Benjamin Elkin, cf. Goodman Lipkind, in *J.E.*, Vol. V, p. 140.

¹⁶ Cf. Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁷ On Marks, cf. Goodman Lipkind, in *J.E.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 333 f.

The man charged with the drawing up of the new liturgy was thus a person of some scholarly attainments. It has, however, been suggested that he was assisted in this task by Hyman Hurwitz, a Polish *Maskil* who preceded him as professor of Hebrew at University College, and who, though never joining the West London Synagogue, had, like Marks, voiced his disbelief in the "divine truth" of the Oral Tradition.¹⁸ Philipson also mentions a committee charged with the preparation of the liturgy, which, in addition to Marks, consisted of Francis H. Goldsmid, Abraham Mocatta, and Moses Mocatta.¹⁹ However, Marks's name is the only one officially connected with the first edition of the *Forms of Prayer used in the West London Synagogue of British Jews*. The "Introduction" to Volume I (Daily and Sabbath Prayers) is dated August, 1841; and in it Marks outlines the principles which guided him in the drawing up of the liturgy.

He insists that "nothing can be more incorrect than the current notion, that the whole of the Prayer Book, as we now possess it, was composed by the men of the Great Synagogue . . .; and that, being stamped by the authority of these great names, the Prayer Book has as fixed and immutable a character as the Sacred Code itself." The work of Zunz and Rapoport is adduced as evidence that "the Hebrew ritual . . . had undergone great and repeated changes." History, therefore, "bears us out in the assumption that it becomes a congregation of Israelites to adapt the ritual to the wants of its members; and it must be universally admitted that the present mode of worship fails to call forth the devotion, so essential to the religious improvement of the people."

He claims to have removed "those parts of the service which are deficient in devotional tendency," and to have expunged "the few expressions which are known to be the offspring of feelings produced by oppression, and are universally admitted to be foreign to the heart of every true Israelite of our day."

The prayer book is a composite of the Sepharadi and Ashkenazi traditions. The editor hopes "to have strengthened rather than weakened the bond of union . . ., by blending in our ritual the varying form of the Portuguese and German Liturgies, and striving to give, on all occasions, the preference to the superiority of intrinsic merit alone." In practice, this "blending" more often than not worked out in favor of the Spanish and Portuguese tradition, — so much so that

¹⁸ Cf. Siegfried Stein, *The Beginnings of Hebrew Studies at University College*. London, University College London, 1952, p. 8.

¹⁹ Philipson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

Israel Abrahams could describe this "Reformed" Prayer Book as being "the Sephardic or 'Spanish' rite . . . in a modified form."²⁰

Of particular interest in the "Introduction" is the following paragraph:—

"In order to render the prayers at once more dignified and more generally intelligible, we have translated the Chaldaic expressions into the sacred Hebrew (the language of the Law), a knowledge of which we trust it will be the pride, as it is the bounden duty, of every Israelite to attain."

The most obvious instance of this "translation" is the Hebrew version of the *Kaddish* which appears in this prayer book.²¹ We may not be too far wrong in seeing in this departure from the "Chaldaic" a result of the editor's anti-rabbinic tendencies. In contemporary *German Reform*, on the other hand, the very existence of Aramaic prayers was taken to be a precedent for prayer in the vernacular. The *Hamburg Prayer Book*, in fact, contained an additional paragraph for the *Kaddish*,—newly written in Aramaic!

Apart from the Hebrew *Kaddish*, the departures from tradition— if the Sepharadi rite be used as the main yardstick—are almost exclusively due to the attempt of shortening the service. Repetitions are cut out; but references to the Resurrection, the personal Messiah, the Election of Israel, the Return to Zion, and the Restoration of the sacrificial cult, have not been tampered with.²²

There is a somewhat serious departure from rabbinic tradition when, on page 65, the Ten Commandments are to be read on Sabbath morning before the Torah Reading. The public reading of the Ten Commandments as part of the morning service is specifically interdicted in the Talmud.²³ Other Reform liturgies, too, have featured the reading of the Decalogue. But, while in them one might suspect a resurgence of the very heresy which induced the Rabbis to abolish the public reading of the Decalogue (i. e., the view that only the

²⁰ Israel Abrahams, *Companion to the Authorised Daily Prayer Book*. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1914, pp. 1 f.

²¹ Idelsohn's statement (in A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and Its Development*. New York, Holt, 1932, p. 296) that the *Kaddish* appears in Hebrew "according to the fourth edition of 1882," is, therefore, misleading. The *Kaddish* appeared in Hebrew in the *first* edition; and it is primarily to this that the paragraph we have quoted from the "Introduction" refers.

²² The first edition has been inaccessible to us while writing this study. We therefore quote the page numbers of the second edition, of 1856. There is no indication that any changes have been introduced into the second edition. Note that, in all volumes of this ritual, all prayers appear in Hebrew as well as in English.

²³ B. *Berakhoth* 12a; j. *Berakhoth* 3c.

Ten Commandments, and not the rest of the Torah, were directly revealed by God), no such view seems to have dominated the thinking of the English Reformers. It could have been merely a case of not heeding a rabbinic provision!

On pages 89-91 the recitation of the "full" *Hallel* is called for on the New Moon, whereas the rabbinic tradition provides for "half" *Hallel* only.

More far-reaching are the departures from Tradition on Hanukkah and Purim. On both occasions the benediction is omitted which attributes to God the act of *commanding* the kindling of lights and the reading of the Book of Esther. The other two benedictions, *nissim* and *zeman*, have been retained. Here we can clearly see the application of a theological principle: Only that is actually *commanded* by God which is stated in the Pentateuch.

We proceed to a brief consideration of Volume Two of the *Forms of Prayer*. This was published in 1842, and contains the "Prayers for the Festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles." We note, on page 50, that the recitation of the *Hallel* Psalms is not preceded by the benediction "who hast sanctified us . . . , and commanded us." Obviously, Mr. Marks could find no such "commandment" in the Pentateuch!

Of even greater interest, and highly characteristic of the whole *tendenz*, is the benediction to be recited prior to the taking of the *lulabh* on the Feast of Tabernacles. Tradition prescribes the אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו על נטילת לולב benediction, specifying נטילת לולב. Now, the English Reformers did not deny that God had commanded us to do so, — even though a non-rabbinic exegesis of the text, as applied by some Karaites,²⁴ does not necessarily yield the *lulabh* of rabbinic tradition. But the rabbinic idiom itself, על נטילת לולב, seems to have been too much for them. And so we find, on page 50, the following (somewhat cumbersome) benediction, in slavish adherence to Lev. 23.40: — ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו לקחת פרי עץ הדר כפת חמרים וענף עץ עבה וערבי נחל: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and commanded us to take the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook."

In line with the custom of the Sepharadi Jews, the *Forms of Prayer* of the West London Synagogue contain the Passover Haggadah in

²⁴ Cf. P. Selvin Goldberg, *Karaite Liturgy*. Manchester University Press, 1957, pp. 120-26.

the volume devoted to the Festivals.²⁵ Without noting further departures from Tradition in the other volumes of this liturgy (which are in line with what we have already seen), we shall, therefore turn our attention now to this Haggadah.

III. THE PASSOVER HAGGADAH OF THE WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE

The Haggadah begins with the traditional *Kiddush*. This is followed by Ex. 12.40–42, after which the following prayer is recited: —²⁶

אנא יי אלהי ישראל. נקדמה פניך בלילה הזה. לחוג את חג הפסח. כאשר צויתנו על ידי משה עבדך. ולהודות ולהלל לשמך הגדול והקדוש. על כל הטובות אשר הפלאת לעשות את אבותינו ועמנו. כי ביד חזקה ובורע נטויה הוצאת את אבותינו ממצרים בלילה הזה: שמרים הוא ליי אלהינו. לכל דורותינו ובכל מושבותינו. לספר גדלותיך לבני בנים. ככתוב. והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא לאמר. בעבור זה עשה יי לי בצאתי ממצרים: נא. הכן לבבנו. להודות לך על כל חסדך. והביאנו במהרה לצייון עיר קדשך. ושם נקריב לפניך את קרבנות חובותינו. ואת קרבן פסח הזה ככל משפטו וחקתו:
זאת חקת הפסח:

This prayer, which must be unique in the history of Reform Liturgy in that it actually contains a newly written petition for the Return to Zion and the Restoration of the sacrificial cult, introduces the reading of Ex. 12.1–20.

At this point the dipping of parsley into vinegar is called for, and, before the eating thereof, the traditional *boré peri ha-adamah* benediction is prescribed. This is followed by Joshua 24.2–4, introduced by the traditional statement, מתחלה עובדי עבודה זרה היו אבותינו. It is of interest to note that, instead of the rabbinic name for God, המקום, our text reads: יי אלהינו.²⁷

The Haggadah then continues with שמר הבטחתו²⁸ and Gen. 15.13–14. (והיא שעמדה) is missing.) This is followed by Deut. 26.5–8, without the *midrash*. Peculiar is the English rendering of Deut. 26.5,

²⁵ In this study we quote the page references to Vol. II of the *Forms of Prayer*. The text of this Haggadah was also published separately, in 1842, under the title of: *Domestic Service for the First Night of Passover, used by the members of the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Edited by the Rev. D. W. Marks, Minister of the Congregation*. While the title-page of this edition has לפסח, corresponding to the Sepharadi custom, the page headings throughout the volume read הגדה של פסח, which is the Ashkenazi usage.

²⁶ pp. 17 f.

²⁷ p. 19.

²⁸ Our text reads, with the Sepharadi rite, מחשב, instead of חשב.

"An Assyrian had nearly caused my father to perish," which, of course, *presupposes* the rabbinic interpretation of that text. Moreover, the *conclusion* of the *midrash* has been retained, since the Ten Plagues²⁹ are introduced by the phrase: אלה עשר מכות שהביא הקדוש ברוך הוא על המצרים במצרים.

While the *dayyenu* is missing, the recapitulation of God's benefits has been retained. But, instead of the rabbinic introduction, על אחת מה רבו מעשי יי, כמה וכמה וכו', we have the more simple phraseology: ונפלאותיו עמו.

Then comes the explanation of the three symbols, for which the traditional text, going back to the Mishnah,³⁰ has been retained together with the Bible "proof-texts" found in the traditional Haggadah. But, instead of the introduction, רבן גמליאל היה אומר וכו', our text reads: מצוה על כל איש ואיש מישראל להזכיר שלשה דברים בפסח.³¹

This is followed by בכל דור ודור חייב אדם³² and by an adaptation of the introduction to the *Hallel* Psalms. The traditional text of this has been abbreviated. Characteristic is the substitution of לכן עלינו לפיכך אנחנו חייבים, להודות ולהלל.

Psalms 113 and 114 are given in full, followed by the benediction אשר גאלנו, of which the complete traditional text has been retained, — including the reference to the blood sprinkled on the altar.³³

At this point, as in the traditional Haggadah, the benedictions over the *mazzah* and the bitter herbs are recited. There is, however, no indication of the use of *haroseth*, or of the Hillelite custom of combining *mazzah* and bitter herbs.

The Grace after Meals³⁴ is an abbreviated form of the Grace found in the Sepharadi rite. Brevity seems to have been the only consideration here. Doctrinal changes, e. g., in connection with the Messiah and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem, have *not* been made.

The Grace is followed by the whole of Psalm 78,³⁵ after which a newly composed prayer is recited, indicating that the lesson of that Psalm has been learned: —³⁶

מה רב טובך יי אלהינו אשר עשית לאבותינו. אמנם הם שחתו דרכם מלכת אחרי יי אשר הטיב עמם והצילם מכל צרותיהם. לכן הנה אנחנו מתפללים לפניך יי אלהי הרוחות לכל בשר. מקור החיים והטוב. ומי יתן והיה לבבנו להבין ולהשכיל לשמור ולעשות את כל חקי רצונך. למען ייטב לנו כל הימים:

²⁹ p. 20.³⁰ *Pesahim* 10.5.³¹ pp. 20 f.³² p. 21.³³ p. 22.³⁴ pp. 22–23.³⁵ pp. 24–26.³⁶ p. 26.

The Haggadah continues with Psalm 136, and the following prayers: *נשמח כל חי*; ³⁷*ישתבח*; ³⁸and *יהללוך*,³⁹ — this arrangement following the Sepharadi rite.⁴⁰ And with this the Haggadah of the West London Synagogue concludes.

IV. EVALUATION OF THE WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE HAGGADAH

In comparing this Haggadah with the traditional one, or rather with those elements of the traditional Haggadah which are common to both the Ashkenazi and the Sepharadi rites, we note the following omissions: — *הא לחמא עניא*; *מה נשתנה*; *עבדים היינו*; the story of the Sages at Bene Berak; the quotation from Mishnah *Berakhoth* 1.5; the *midrash* of the "Four Sons"; *והיא שעמדה*; the *midrash* on Deut. 26.5–8; the *midrash* on the Ten Plagues; *דינו*; *זכר למקדש כהלל*; *שפך חמתך* verses; Psalms 115 through 118; and various benedictions over the wine, together with the Grace after the last cup of wine with which the Sepharadi Haggadah concludes.⁴¹

In fact, the tradition of having four cups of wine, on which the Mishnah is so insistent,⁴² is not taken into consideration by this Haggadah, which calls for wine only in connection with the *Kiddush*. Nor do we find either the rubric of *יחץ* (not to speak of the repeated washing of hands), or the eating of the *afikoman*. (The *piyyutim* and songs after the fourth cup are, of course, peculiar to the Ashkenazi tradition.)

On the other hand, the West London Synagogue Haggadah does contain elements not found in either the Ashkenazi or the Sepharadi Haggadoth. In addition to the two original prayers, which we have quoted in full, there is Ex. 12.1–20, and 40–42; and Psalm 78.

Since Ex. 12.1–20 and Psalm 78 are both rather lengthy biblical passages, we cannot assume that the traditional texts which have been omitted were the victims of a mere attempt at shortening the service in order to prevent it from becoming too long. Nor again would all of the omitted passages fit the description of being "deficient in devotional tendency," or of being "the offspring of feelings produced by oppression," which is the apology offered for omissions in the "Introduction" to Volume One of the prayer book. Under the cir-

³⁷ pp. 27 f. ³⁸ p. 28. ³⁹ *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Cf. Moses Gaster (ed.), *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. London, 1906, Vol. V, pp. 42 f.

⁴¹ Cf. Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴² *Pesahim* 10.1.

cumstances, the omission of what are, after all, some of the oldest components of the *seder*, can only be attributed to an animus against Rabbinic Judaism, and to "Karaite" tendencies.

A comparison of the West London Synagogue Haggadah with that of the real Karaites is, therefore, indicated; and we proceed to a description of the Karaite Haggadah.

V. THE KARAITE HAGGADAH

The Karaites took over from the Rabbis the institution of the Passover *seder*. This needs to be stated, because, as the author of the *Kol Sakhal* has demonstrated, a strictly literal construction of the biblical text does not yield that institution. Scripture says, "If thy son will ask thee, . . . and thou shalt tell thy son." From which the *Kol Sakhal* derives the conclusion that, if the son does not ask of his own accord, there is no obligation of either "questioning" or "answering."⁴³

Such a radical construction of the biblical text we do not, however, find among the Karaites. Rather do they speak of the Jewish "custom (*sic*) to read the Haggadah of the Exodus from Egypt,"⁴⁴ and even of our "duty on this first night of Passover to recite in our prayers the Scriptural passages relating to the Passover. After this we are to gather in our houses and recite the biblical verses concerning the account of the distressing servitude in which our fathers were living; of the two messengers, Moses and Aaron, who were sent to them to rescue them and who performed miracles in the presence of the pharaoh and his people; of the slaughter of the first-born of the Egyptians and the salvation of the first-born of the children of Israel; and of the exodus of the people of Israel from Egypt. We are to make this recitation in the most wondrous manner and add our own praises to God for all these mercies. After this we are to pronounce the blessing over the unleavened bread and eat as much as we please of it, with bitter herbs, such as lettuce, endive, and celery. During most of the night we are to recount to our children, wives, and guests what God had wrought in Egypt"⁴⁵

The use of a Karaite Haggadah is, therefore, clearly indicated. That this Haggadah was identical with that of the Rabbanites does not, however, follow. Indeed, it seems to have been the view of Anan, the founder of the sect, that the Davidic Psalms amply met all lit-

⁴³ *Kol Sakhal*, in *Beḥinath Ha-Kabbalah*, ed. Reggio. Goricia 1852, p. 47.

⁴⁴ Cf. Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia, *Gan Eden*. Eupatoria 1864, p. 47d.

⁴⁵ Samuel b. Moses Al-Maḡribī, in *Al-Muršid*; quoted and translated by Leon Nemoy, in *Karaite Anthology*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952, p. 207.

urgical needs, "whether for the purpose of thanksgiving, or for the purpose of requesting the pardon of transgressions, or for the purpose (of giving thanks) for the goodness and kindness which God had bestowed upon Israel."⁴⁶

Yet it is a fact that, in the course of the centuries, Karaite Liturgy went beyond the confines of Psalms and other biblical passages. It began to include not only original post-biblical compositions, but actual borrowings from the liturgy of the Rabbanites. It is remarkable that a description of the Karaite Haggadah from as early as the second half of the ninth century indicates that that Haggadah — for all its departures from tradition — was anything but a mere stringing together of Bible verses. We are referring to a statement by Rabh Natronai Gaon, quoted in the *Seder Rabh Amram*, — a statement which deserves to be cited in full: —

"He who says, in the Passover *Kiddush*, אשר קדש את ישראל, and who, after completing the מה נשתנה, does not say עבדים היינו לפרעה, but who (merely) says ויאמר יהושע, במצרים, nor מתחלה עובדי ע"ז, but who (sic), ויעקב ובניו ירדו במצרים, and who says from ברך שומר הבטחתו, צא ולמד, reading the whole passage of ארמי אובר אבי לישראל, — the verses just as they are, without any *midrash* at all; and who then says רבן גמליאל, and אשר גאלנו, and *Hallel*, — (such a one does) a very amazing thing. He who follows this custom not only — as it is needless to say — has not fulfilled his religious obligation, but whoever does so is a מין and of a divided heart. He denies the words of the Sages, and despises the words of the Mishnah and the Talmud. And all congregations are obligated to excommunicate him, and to separate him from כלל ישראל. . . . And were it not for the hatred which is in their heart, and for their divided heart, so that they do not want to recite the words of the Sages, why should it bother them to say מתחלה?! But those are מינין, who mock and despise the words of the Sages, and the disciples of Anan (may his name rot), the grandfather of Daniel (may he have no continuity), who said to all who were erring and awhoring after him: 'Forsake the words of the Mishnah and the Talmud, and I shall make you a Talmud of my own!' . . ."⁴⁷

Whatever rabbinic passages, then, may have been omitted in this Karaite Haggadah, it must still have contained מה נשתנה, ברך שומר, רבן גמליאל היה אומר, הבטחתו, and the אשר גאלנו benediction. Idelsohn,

⁴⁶ *Sepher Ha-Mizwoth*, in *Likkute Kadmoniot*, Vol. II, ed. A. Harkavy. St. Petersburg 1903, p. 158.

⁴⁷ *Seder Rabh Amram Hashalem*, ed. Frumkin, Vol. II, pp. 206 f.

therefore, was wrong when, on the basis of this statement by Natronai, he concluded that Natronai must have known the order of the Haggadah which now appears in Vol. IV of the Karaite Liturgy printed in Vilna, in 1890/92.⁴⁸ As a matter of fact, none of the passages just listed occurs in this last edition of the Karaite Haggadah, which, from this point of view at least, represents a far more radical departure from the Rabbinic tradition than the abbreviated ritual described by Natronai.

It need not even be supposed that the latter-day Karaite Haggadah is a direct descendant of the one seen by Natronai. As Al-Qirqisānī's account of the Jewish sects shows, there was very little uniformity among the Karaites.⁴⁹ In a way, the Vilna edition of the Karaite Haggadah may even be closer to Anan's own ideal and practice than the particular 9th-century version which came to Natronai's attention.

Be that as it may. For our present purposes we can concentrate on the Vilna edition,⁵⁰ which, with but minor deviations presently to be noted, is identical with the versions published in Tchufut Kale, in 1737 and 1809, and in Vienna, in 1854.

As Idelsohn has correctly noted,⁵¹ the Haggadah for domestic use, technically known as הלל הקטן, is an abridged version of the הלל הגדול, which has been composed for recitation in the synagogue.

The text of the הלל הקטן follows: —

Ps. 71.16; Ps. 45.18; Ps. 77.12-16; Neh. 9.7-10.

Gen. : וכן הודעת לאברהם אבינו את עני זרעו בארץ לא להם כאשר כתוב בתורתך: 15.13-14; וכתוב Gen. 15.18.

Ps. 105.23-25; Ex. 1.11-14.

ושתי גזרות קשות גזרו על אבותינו פרעה ומצרים:

:Ex. 1.15-16 ככתוב: גזרה ראשונה על ידי המילדות:

:Ex. 1.17 ולא קבלו עצתו וגזרתו: ככתוב

גזרה שניה צוה לכל עמו בפרהסיא והתיר דם ילדי ישראל להרגם ולטבעם ביאר:

:Ex. 1.22 ככתוב

ועליהם הכתוב אמר: :Ezek. 16.4-5

וראה אלהינו את חמסו ורחם עלינו כאשר הכתוב מגיד על ידי נביאו: :Ezek. 16.6

Ps. 105.5-15; Josh. 24.2-5; Ex. 2.24-25; Ex. 3.7-12; Micah 6.4;

Ps. 105.26-27;

⁴⁸ Idelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁴⁹ Cf. Leon Nemoy: "Al-Qirqisānī's Account of the Jewish Sects," in *HUCA*, Vol. VII (1930), pp. 317-97, *passim*.

⁵⁰ *Seder Tephilloth Ha-Keraim*, Vol. IV. Vilna 1892. The text of the Haggadah is on pp. 13-23.

⁵¹ Idelsohn, *loc. cit.*

כאשר כתוב בתורתך: Ex. 3.19-20:

וכתוב Ex. 6:5-8:

Ex. 4.22-23; Ex. 7.4.

והם עשר מכות שהכה יוי בהם לפרעה ולמצרים על אדות עמו ולמען ספר שמו:

ראשנה דם: ככתוב Ex. 7:20:

שנית צפרדעים: ככתוב Ex. 8.2:

שלישית כנים: ככתוב Ex. 8.13:

רביעית ערוב: ככתוב Ex. 8.20:

חמישית דבר: ככתוב Ex. 9.6:

ששית שחין: ככתוב Ex. 9.10:

שביעית ברד: ככתוב Ex. 9.23:

שמינית ארבה: ככתוב Ex. 10.13:

תשיעית חשך: ככתוב Ex. 10.22:

עשירית בכורות להכות ולהמית: ככתוב Ex. 12.29-32:

Ps. 66.8-9.

על כן צונו ה' אלהינו על ידי משה רבנו:

Deut. 26.5-8; Ps. 105.1; Ps. 78.43-51; Ex. 11.10; Ex. 12.1-28; Ex. 13.6-10; Deut. 6.20-25; Ex. 10.2; Ps. 78.3-4; Ps. 135.8; Ps. 136.10; Ps. 107.8; Ps. 99.3; Ps. 9.2-6; Ps. 124.6; Ps. 68.20-21.

ברוך אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו אשר עשה נסים וגברות אתות ונפלאות עם אבותינו בימים האלה ובזמן הזה אמן:

ויפדם מעבדות מצרים הקשה לחרות:

ויצילם מפרך מעניהם לחפש:

ויגאלם מתחת יד פרעה מלך מצרים לנפש:

באתות ובמופתים ובמלחמה וביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה ובמוראים גדולים:

ויוציאם בכסף וזהב בששון ושמחה וצהלה מעבדות לחרות:

ויוליכם קוממיות כי בם בחר יוי להיות לו לעם סגולה:

וינטלם וינשאם למעלה למעלה:

ובאיביהם עשה שפטים ונקמה גדולה:

ולוחציהם השליך בתוך מצולה:

ולחם הושיע תשועה סלה:

ומשם לקחם והביאם בסיני ככלה:

והנחילם תורתו המעלה:

עם חקה ומצוה ומשפט פלילה:

וצוה להם מועדי שמחה וצהלה:

ועל כן ראוי לנו שנאמר ברוך הוא וברוך שמו ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה לעדי עד ולנצח נצחים סלה:

וגם נאמר ברוך אלהינו אשר החינו וקימנו והגיענו בשלום לזמן הזה אמן:

כן יהי רצון מלפני יוי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו האל הגדול הגבור והנורא שימחר ויחיש לנו בימינו ובימיכם ובימי כל עמו בית ישראל כלל הבשרות הטובות והנעימות והנחמות הרשומות האמורות ונכתבות מפי כל נביא וחזוה:

וגם יזכנו לראות זמן הצלחתנו:

ולחזות ימי תשועתנו וצמח משיחנו:
 ואז נעלה אל יי אלהינו
 בימי הרגלים וזמני החגים והמועדים ששים ונעלזים לשמוח בשמחה
 ירושלם עירנו:
 ובשכלול חדות היכל ודבירנו:
 ואז נקריב זבחי פסחים ועלת ונדרים עם מנחות ונסכים:
 ונודה ונשבח לצור עולמים:
 האל הנקרא פעלו תמים:
 והמחיש תשועה לתמימים:
 אשר בתחלה קדשנו מכל העמים:
 ובאחרונה בחר בנו מכל האמים
 ולכן נגיל ונעלו ונשיש ונשמח ונרן בתעצומים:
 ונאמר Ps. 35.9-10; Zech. 9.9; Nah. 2.1; Isa. 60.21-22

(ותקח הכוס בידך ותעשה ברכה ותאמר)

Ps. 136.1-3

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר ברך וקדש את עמו ישראל בחג המצות הזה
 ובמועדי שמחה ומקראי קדש אמן: וברוך אלהינו מלך העולם הנתן לנו ששון ושמחה
 ובורא פרי הגפן. אמן:

(ובנפול המועד בשבת תאמר זו הברכה)

עת להקדיש

Gen. 2.1-3

ברוך אלהינו מלך העולם המברך והמקדש את עמו ישראל בחג המצות הזה במועדי
 שמחה ומקראי קדש אמן: וברוך אלהינו מלך העולם אשר ברא עץ הגפן ומיינו משמח
 לבב בני האדם: ככתוב Ps. 104.15: ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם המברך
 והמקדש את יום השבת לעמו ישראל אמן: וברוך אלהינו מלך העולם הנתן לנו ששון
 ושמחה ובורא פרי הגפן. אמן:

(ויטעמו כל היושבים ואח"כ תקח מצה בידיך ותעשה המוציא ותאמר:)

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם המוציא לחם עני מן הארץ. אמן:

(ועוד תחבר מצה ומרור ותאמר:)

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו על אכילת מצה ומרור.
 אמן:

ברכת המזון

Ps. 145.9; Ps. 136.23-26; Ps. 33.22; Ps. 98.53; I Chron. 29.10b-13;
 Ps. 115.18; Ps. 145.15-16.

רצון תשבענו ורוזן העבר ממנו והטריפנו לחם חקנו ושלחנך ערוך לכל:
 בארך אפך ובגמילות חסדיך אנו חיים וקיימים ומפתיחת ידך:

כי אתה הוא זן ומפרנס ומכלכל לכל ומכין מזון ומחיה לכל בריותיך אשר בראת:
ברוך אתה ה' הון את הכל אמן:

Ps. 107.8-9 (reading נודה — *sic* — for יודו); Ps. 37.19;

(ובשבת ומועד תאמר זה:)

Ex. 31.16-17; Ex. 35.1-3; Lev. 19.30; Lev. 19.3.

Lev. 23.4; Ex. 12.14-20; Ex. 13.6-10; Deut. 6.20-25; Ex. 23.25;
Deut. 6.11; Deut. 8.10; Ps. 135.19-21.

Pss. 113; 114; 115; 116; 117; 118; Ps. 29.11; Ps. 98.53.

VI. EVALUATION OF THE KARAITE HAGGADAH

Both in order to save space, and in order to identify more clearly the selections from Scripture involved, we have given references to the Scripture verses used, instead of copying them out in full, in our description of the Karaite Haggadah. The reader must, therefore, not be misled by appearances. By far, the greatest part of the Karaite Haggadah consists of Scripture verses. The Hebrew texts we have quoted *verbatim* take up the least space in the total composition. If it be borne in mind that the text of the Haggadah runs into eleven full pages, the ratio between Bible verses and non-biblical compositions can easily be visualized.

We see, then, that the Haggadah begins with a string of Psalm verses. This, in itself, is not typically Karaite. The earliest Rabbanite *selikhoth* compositions, for example, followed the identical method. "One can clearly see that they are grouped together from specific points of view. For example, a number of verses with אל, or with טוב, or with הביטה appears together. Or the same word with which one verse concludes begins the next verse In short, there are points of contact for the listener or the worshipper, by means of which he can follow, or respond to, the prayer of the precentor."⁵²

For instance, we can compare the opening verses of the Karaite Haggadah with the introductory Scripture verses of the *selikhoth* liturgy. The latter consist of Ps. 65.3 (יבאו); Ps. 66.23 (יבוא); Ps. 86.9 (יבאו).⁵³ The former are Ps. 71.16 (אזכיר); Ps. 45.18 (אזכירה); Ps.

⁵² I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*. Leipzig 1913, pp. 222 f.

⁵³ Cf. Abraham Rosenfeld (ed.), *The Authorised Selichot for the Whole Year*. London 1957, pp. 4 f.

77.12 (אזכיר). What is typically Karaite is the fact that the Passover Haggadah begins in this fashion. The Rabbanite Haggadah, of course, begins with the *Kiddush*, — as already laid down in the Mishnah.⁵⁴

Yet, as the Karaite Haggadah proceeds, we note that the Scripture verses are interrupted by introductory phrases. These phrases are "narrative" portions, and they are invariably followed by a Scriptural reference "substantiating" the statement just made, and introduced by terms like הכתוב מניד and ככתוב. This is not identical with the particular *midrash* of the Rabbanite Haggadah, but it is a form of "*midrash*" just the same. The introductory statement, leading to the enumeration of the "Ten Plagues," is definitely indebted to the rabbinic *midrash*, even though it is more elaborate than the latter, and even though the rabbinic מכות עשר מכות has reference to Deut. 26.8, while the Karaite והם עשר מכות is offered as an interpretation of Ex. 7.4.

It will be noted that the "key" verses of the Rabbanite Haggadah also appear in the Karaite text, viz.,: Deut. 6.21; Gen. 15.13-14; Josh. 24.2-5; and Deut. 26.5-8.

We come now to a consideration of the only lengthy passage in the Karaite Haggadah which is not a mere stringing together of Scripture verses. It is the passage beginning with ברוך אלהינו.⁵⁵ The indebtedness of this prayer to the phraseology of Rabbanite Liturgy is obvious, — and so are the conscious departures from Rabbanite usage. The prayer begins with an adaptation of the שבעה נסים benediction. But, contrary to rabbinic requirements,⁵⁶ *shem* and *malkhuth* are not included. As some of the other benedictions in the Karaite Haggadah show, there was no opposition in principle to the mentioning of *shem* and *malkhuth*. Rather do we seem to deal here with a conscious endeavor not to follow the rabbinic requirements too consistently. This is evident in the adaptation of the שבעה נסים benediction itself, which, in the Rabbanite tradition, is not used on Passover at all,⁵⁷ but is restricted to Purim and Hanukkah. It is in connection with the latter that it seems to have had its origin.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Pesahim* 10:2.

⁵⁵ *Seder Tephilloth Ha-Keraim*, Vol. IV, Vilna 1892, pp. 18 f. We have transcribed this prayer in what we believe to have been its original poetic form. In the Vilna edition it is printed as if it were prose.

⁵⁶ Cf. b. *Berakhoth* 12a.

⁵⁷ Note, however, the phrase למי שעשה לאבותינו . . . לפיכך אנחנו חייבים להודות . . . in the traditional Haggadah. Cf. E. D. Goldschmidt, *Die Pessach-Haggada*. Berlin, Schocken, 1936, p. 66.

⁵⁸ Cf. S. Stein: "The Liturgy of Hanukkah and the First Two Books of Maccabees," in *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, Vol. V (1954).

The phrase *האל הגדול הגבור והנורא* is, of course, biblical (Deut. 10.17), but, following on *ויי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו* in a form of address to God, it is definitely reminiscent of the opening of the *abhoth* section of the 'amidah. Obviously an imitation of the phrase *בחיכון וביומיון* *בימינו* in the Rabbanite *Kaddish* are the words *ברוך אלהינו אשר החינו* *ביום וקיימנו* goes back to the Rabbanite *sheheḥeyanu* benediction.

Of even greater significance is the *position* of this prayer within the context of the Karaite Haggadah. It is to be remembered that, unlike the Rabbanite custom, the *Kiddush* (or what corresponds to it here) does not come at the beginning of the domestic service, but right before the eating of unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and the meal. The prayer under discussion leads over into the *Kiddush*. Moreover, even though the *Hallel* Psalms come *after* the meal, the *position* of this prayer corresponds to that of the *asher ge-alanu* benediction in the Rabbanite Haggadah. As a matter of fact, the prayer contains all the elements of the *asher ge-alanu* benediction,⁵⁹ as the following juxtaposition of phrases will show: —

Asher Ge-alanu

ברוך . . . אשר גאלנו וגו'
 כן . . . הגיענו למועדים
 ולרגלים אחרים הבאים
 לקראתנו לשלום שמחים
 בבנין עירך וששים
 בעבודתך.
 ונאכל שם מן הובחים
 ומן הפסחים וגו'
 ונודה לך על גאלתנו

Karaite Prayer

ברוך . . . ויפדם . . . ויצילים . . . ויגאלם וגו'
 כן . . . יוכנו וגו' ואז נעלה ציון אל יי
 אלהינו בימי הרגלים וזמני החגים והמועדים
 ששים ונעלזים לשמוח בשמחת ירושלם עירנו:
 ואז נקריב זבחי פסחים ועלת וגו'
 ונודה ונשבח לצור עולמים

It is thus clear that the Karaite prayer under discussion is merely a very much elaborated version of the Rabbanite *asher ge-alanu* benediction. The references to the Election of Israel — *not* based on the *asher ge-alanu* benediction — become intelligible, as does the adaptation of the *sheheḥeyanu* benediction, once this passage is understood as an introduction to the *Kiddush*. We may add that there is an obvious attempt in this prayer to treat the following themes poetically: The Exodus and the Punishment meted out to the Egyptians, the Election of Israel, and the Revelation at Sinai. Now it so happens that the identical themes are handled in a very similar way in some lengthy poetical inserts, quoted as optional reading by Saadia

⁵⁹ For the text of the latter, see Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Gaon,⁶⁰ and still used by the Jews of Yemen and of parts of Tripolitania.⁶¹ What is more, the rubrics of the Haggadah for which, according to Saadia, these inserts have been composed are the *asher ge-alanu* benediction and the *Kiddush*!

It stands to reason, therefore, that the Karaite prayer (minus the phrases which would run counter to rabbinic usage) might very well go back to a Rabbanite prototype of the kind mentioned by Saadia. Similarly, while the phrase, *אשר ברך וקדש את עמו ישראל*, in the *Kiddush* proper reminds us of the *אשר קדש את ישראל*, which Natronai Gaon cited as the Karaite custom,⁶² the elongated form of the benediction over the wine might likewise go back to something not exclusively Karaite. Saadia knows of the custom of making a lengthy benediction out of this blessing over the wine, — a custom, however, which he strictly interdicts.⁶³ And Hai Gaon reports that "the inhabitants of Basra, Elam, and Persia" say: *אשר ברא* [יין] *עסים וחירוש טוב כו'*, while others are reported as saying "a lengthy benediction, *אשר ברא יין*, *עסים משמח אלהים ואנשים*, and many words."⁶⁴

As far as the benediction *וצונו על אכילת מצה ומרור* is concerned, there is no uniformity among the editions. The Vilna edition of 1892 has it, and so does the Tchufut Kale edition of 1737.⁶⁵ But it is missing in the Tchufut Kale edition of 1809,⁶⁶ and in the Vienna edition of 1854.⁶⁷ Moreover, those editions which omit this form of the benediction do have the Rabbanite benediction *וצונו על אכילת מצה*. But they omit the eating of *maror* altogether. Curiously enough, therefore, *both* versions of the Karaite Haggadah can be said to follow Rabbanite thinking, while departing from Rabbanite practice, at one and the same time.

The Talmud makes it clear that the eating of bitter herbs — unlike the eating of unleavened bread — was a biblical commandment which could be fulfilled in connection with the paschal sacrifice only.⁶⁸ The eating of bitter herbs after the cessation of the paschal sacrifice is no longer a biblical obligation, but a *rabbinic* ordinance, instituted as a

⁶⁰ *Siddur Rabh Saadia Gaon*, ed. Davidson, Assaf and Joel. Jerusalem, Mekize Nirdamim, 1941, pp. 141–45.

⁶¹ Cf. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁶² See Note 47, above.

⁶³ Saadia, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁶⁴ See Saadia, *loc. cit.*, editors' notes.

⁶⁵ *Seder Hatephilloth*. Tchufut Kale 1737, Vol. II, p. 31a.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Seder Birkhoth Ha-Keraim*. Tchufut Kale 1809, p. 9b.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Seder Tephilloth Ha-Keraim*. Vienna 1854. Vol. IV, p. 17.

⁶⁸ See b. *Pesahim* 115a; and cf. Petuchowski, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. LXXVI (1957), pp. 296–98. But note the reading *וצונו על אכילת מצה ומרור* found in a few MSS, quoted in E. D. Goldschmidt, *הגדה של פסח ותולדותיה*. Jerusalem, 1960, pp. 59 f.

zekher. To combine the two observances — having two *different* sources of authority behind them — in *one* benediction is, therefore, from the rabbinic point of view, an impossibility. Yet two editions of the Karaite Haggadah do just that! However, the mere fact that the eating of *maror* is provided for at all shows the influence of rabbinic thinking. This is made clear by the express statements of Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia (Constantinople, 14th century),⁶⁹ and of Elijah Bašyatchi (Constantinople, 15th century).⁷⁰

Both of these Karaite authorities recognize that the biblical commandment to eat *maror* had reference to the paschal sacrifice only. Both of them likewise insist that the obligation of eating *maror* still rests upon us by the authority of "Tradition."⁷¹ Both of them, moreover, point out that the function of the *maror* is to remind us of the Egyptians' embittering the life of our fathers. Since the eating of *maror* is not motivated in this way in the Bible itself,⁷² it follows that this *symbolical* meaning of the custom has been adopted from rabbinic sources.

At the same time, those versions of the Karaite Haggadah which omit the eating of *maror* altogether show an implicit acceptance of the rabbinic distinction between biblical laws and rabbinic ordinances, preferring in this case to ignore the latter.

In the Grace after Meals it is interesting to note that the few sentences which are *not* Bible quotations show a marked resemblance to the form of the Grace in the Sepharadi tradition. Compare the Karaite *ושלחנך ערוך לכל . . . כי אתה הוא זן ומפרנס ומכלכל לכל ומכין מזון* with the Sepharadi *ושלחנך לכל* and *כי הוא זן ומפרנס לכל*.⁷³ *ערוך לכל. והתקין מחיה ומזון לכל-בריותיו אשר ברא וכו'.*

Further dependence upon the Rabbanite prototype of the Grace can be seen in the "emendation" of the first word of Ps. 107:8.⁷⁴ The biblical verse has *יודו*; the Karaite text reads *נודה*. The "emendation" has been "covered up" so skillfully that the word *נודה* has even been provided with the Masoretic accent of the original. Why this "emendation"? We suggest that it was due to the fact that, in the Rabbanite Grace, *נודה* was the first word of the second paragraph, and followed immediately upon *הון את הכל*.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Gan Eden*. Eupatoria 1864, p. 47c, d.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Adereth Eliyahu*. Eupatoria 1835, p. 40b.

⁷¹ *מסבל הירושם*, according to Aaron b. Elijah; and *מסבל הירושם* to Bašyatchi.

⁷² Cf. Goldschmidt, *Die Pessach-Haggada*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 64 f.

⁷³ Cf. Moses Gaster (ed.), *The Book of Prayer etc.* London, Oxford University Press, 1949, Vol. I, p. 60.

⁷⁴ Vilna edition of 1892, p. 21.

Of the various versions considered, the Vilna edition of 1892 is unique in omitting the following Scripture verses between Ex. 13.10 and Deut. 6.20: — Ex. 23.14; Ex. 23.15; Ex. 34.23; Ex. 34.18; Ex. 34.23; Ex. 34.24; and Ex. 34.23.⁷⁵ This arrangement looks very much as if it were intended for some form of responsive reading.

It is, of course, not particularly remarkable that the Karaite Haggadah does not include such specific Rabbanite provisions as that of the "four cups," the *afikoman*, etc. And yet, it is obvious that, without the Rabbanite prototype, the Karaite Haggadah would not contain all of the material which has been included. It has also been shown to be likely that the Karaite Haggadah incorporates what, at one time, may have been legitimate local variants within Rabbanite circles themselves. But one thing is certain: every page of the Karaite Haggadah proclaims the rejection of rabbinic legislation.

VII. A COMPARISON OF THE TWO HAGGADOTH

If, in comparison with the traditional Rabbanite Haggadah, that of the West London Synagogue showed marked "Karaite" tendencies, the investigation of the Karaite Haggadah itself should have made it quite clear that the West London Synagogue Haggadah is more closely related, after all, to that of Rabbinic Judaism than to the Karaite ritual. And this in spite of the fact that it shares with the latter the rejection of some of the more dramatic and picturesque features of the rabbinic Passover observance. In the final analysis, the West London Synagogue Haggadah represents an attempt at "reforming" the existing structure, while the Karaite Haggadah, with all its indebtedness to the Rabbanite prototype, is the result of a conscious attempt at creating a liturgy *de novo*. Moreover, it is extremely questionable whether the Rev. David Woolf Marks ever made a thorough study of the Karaite Liturgy.

Under the circumstances, it is especially instructive to note that, in addition to common omissions, the two non-rabbinic Haggadot have elements in common *on the positive side* which they do not share with the Rabbanite Haggadah. There is, first of all, Psalm 78, of which the whole is included in the West London Synagogue Haggadah, and of which the Karaite Haggadah incorporates verses 3-4, and 43-51. And then there is the 12th chapter of Exodus, of which verses 1-32

⁷⁵ Cf. the following editions: — Tchufut Kale 1737, Vol. II, p. 31b; Tchufut Kale 1809, p. 10a; Vienna 1854, Vol. IV, p. 18.

are part of the Karaite Haggadah, and verses 1-20, and 40-42, part of the West London Synagogue Haggadah.⁷⁶

The choice of Ps. 78 is not too difficult to explain. To someone looking for *biblical* texts dealing with the Exodus, verses from this Psalm would sooner or later suggest themselves. Yet it is likewise understandable why the traditional Haggadah does *not* include this Psalm. Ps. 78 is excessively preoccupied with Israel's repeated "back-sliding." The idolatrous past history of the people is indeed not completely glossed over even in the Rabbanite Haggadah. The recitation of Joshua 24:2-4 was meant to call to mind just that particular phase of Israel's past. But the recurrent theme of Ps. 78 was hardly appropriate to the over-all arrangement of the Passover *seder*. That arrangement, according to the Mishnah,⁷⁷ called for the narrative to begin with shame and degradation, and to end on a note of praise. The recitation of Ps. 78 would thus have been impossible the moment the theme of "redemption" had been introduced. That Marks was able to insert Ps. 78 at the very place of the Haggadah where tradition calls for the completion of the *Hallel* Psalms, omitting Pss. 115-118 at that, shows how very much out of sympathy Marks must have been with the whole tendency of the traditional Haggadah, — or else how little he knew about it.

To account for the presence of Ex. 12 is somewhat more complicated. Perhaps the best way to understand it would be to realize why it is *not* included in the Rabbanite Haggadah. After all, at a first glance, nothing seems more logical for inclusion in the Haggadah than that particular chapter, detailing the observance of the first Passover. Yet, in making that statement, we have already given the answer. Ex. 12 deals specifically with the *first* Passover, and Rabbinic Law clearly distinguishes between פסח מצרים, that first Passover, and פסח דורות, the Passover as it was to be observed henceforth.⁷⁸ Many of the details mentioned in Ex. 12 were to have no further application after the first Passover. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the chapter figures neither in the traditional Haggadah nor in connection with the prayers for the Restoration of the sacrificial cult.

The Karaite *inclusion* of this chapter might have been ascribed

⁷⁶ Verses 27 and 39 of this chapter also occur in the West London Synagogue Haggadah, but they do so in different contexts, and correspond to the use of the isolated verses 12, 26, 27, and 39 in the Rabbanite Haggadah.

⁷⁷ *Pesahim* 10.4.

⁷⁸ Cf. Mekhilta *Pisha*, ch. III, ed. Lauterbach, Vol. I, p. 25, and ch. IV, ed. Lauterbach, Vol. I, pp. 30-31. Cf. also b. *Pesahim* 96a.

to the Karaite rejection of the distinction made by the Rabbis between the two kinds of *pesah*, were it not for the fact that the Karaite legalists show themselves fully aware of it, and *accept* it.⁷⁹ However, we do not need to assume a universal acceptance of this rabbinic distinction among the Karaites. Besides, the biblical chapter could have found admittance into the Karaite Haggadah *before* the rabbinic distinction found acceptance among Karaite legalists. We must also bear in mind that the Karaite Haggadah as such resembles nothing so much as a concordance of biblical verses dealing with Passover. And, along with all the other texts, Ex. 12 would obviously have to be included, — if only as a reminder of how the first Passover was observed, and without any implication of hoping to repeat that observance.

But the editor of the West London Synagogue Haggadah shows himself quite unconcerned about, if not actually ignorant of, the rabbinic distinction between פסח דורות and פסח מצרים. Here it is not just a case of a suitable biblical passage, or of a striking historical reminiscence. Here⁸⁰ we have a prayer: "...and bring us speedily unto Zion, thy holy city, that we may there present the sacrifices incumbent upon us, even the sacrifice of this Passover, according to all its statutes and ordinances." This is immediately followed by the words from Ex. 12.43, "This is the ordinance of the Passover," which is here used as an introduction to Ex. 12.1–20. In other words, this Haggadah envisages the regulations of Ex. 12 as being in force at the time of the Restoration! At this point even the Karaites have been left far behind in the rejection of the rabbinic interpretation of Scripture.

In the early history of Reform Judaism there have been instances also in other countries of Reformers rejecting the Rabbinic Tradition, and taking their stand on the Bible alone. (This position was tenable until the Higher Criticism was believed to have undermined the authority of the Scriptures, and until, with the espousal of the doctrine of "Progressive Revelation," even the Talmud was seen as manifesting some advance in religious thought.) But nowhere do we see such "Karaite" tendencies more pronounced than in the West London Synagogue of British Jews, and nowhere have they been more firmly enshrined in the Reform Liturgy than in the Haggadah of that synagogue.

It is for this reason, as well as for the fact that here we have a

⁷⁹ Cf. Bašyatchi, *op. cit.*, *Seder 'Inyan Pesah*, ch. I, pp. 33d–34a, and ch. IX, p. 36b, c; and Samuel b. Moses Al-Mağribī, in Nemoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 f.

⁸⁰ *Forms of Prayer*, Vol. II, pp. 17 f.

"Reform" prayer book with newly created prayers for the Return to Zion and the Restoration of the sacrifices, that the Haggadah of the West London Synagogue deserves to be rescued from oblivion, and to be studied as a unique document in the history of Reform Judaism.

VIII. POSTSCRIPT

There is a certain atmosphere we normally associate with the Passover *seder*. It has something to do with the "four cups" of wine, with the *mah nishtannah*, and, in general, with the role of the children on that particular occasion. One wonders, therefore, what the atmosphere must have been which was engendered by the solemn reading of Mr. Marks's Haggadah.

Mr. Leonard G. Montefiore, O.B.E., a son of Claude G. Montefiore, who numbers among his family founders of the West London Synagogue, can think of no instance of this Haggadah's having been used in his family. He remembers his father's using an Orthodox Haggadah, and he writes: "I should surmise that the founder families were in the Seder service a law to themselves, and bothered very little in this matter about the views of Mr. Marks. I fear we shall never know."⁸¹ Yet the Haggadah continued to be reprinted in each succeeding edition of the West London Synagogue prayer book. Only the prayers for the Restoration of the sacrifices were deleted after 1888.

But the "Karaite" tendencies in that congregation's history seem to have been co-extensive only with the long incumbency of David Woolf Marks. They were no longer in evidence during the ministry of his successors, — among whom we might single out the Rev. Morris Joseph (1848–1930), who was anything but a Karaite.

In 1941, Rabbi Harold F. Reinhart — then Senior Minister of the West London Synagogue — published an English version of the Haggadah, which, with but few omissions, faithfully followed the rabbinic tradition.⁸²

⁸¹ In a private communication to the author, dated November 5th, 1959.

⁸² Published under the title "*Haggadah Shel Pesach — Service for the First Evening of Passover*," as a "Supplement" to *The Synagogue Review* of April 1941. The fact that this was in English only, having solely the Hebrew benedictions and "catch-words" in English transliteration, was undoubtedly due to the difficulties of publishing in war time. At the "Community Seder," conducted at the West London Synagogue at that time, many passages were read in Hebrew from a specially prepared "scissors-and-paste" Haggadah made up from the traditional text. The omissions include all phrases referring to the Restoration, the Ten Plagues, *shephokh hamathekha*, the Washing of Hands, as well as the *midrash* on Deut. 26.5–8. Some passages, such as the *asher ge-alanu* benediction and the *nirzah*, were paraphrased in a "universalistic" vein.

ZUNZ AND REFORM JUDAISM

SAMUEL S. COHON, ב"ר

LEOPOLD ZUNZ associated himself with the Reform movement in Judaism in the early days of its existence, as it was groping for a clear expression in theory and in practice. Under the leadership of Israel Jacobson at Seesen, Cassel, and Berlin, it limited itself to the aesthetic modification of synagogue custom and ritual procedure. In basic principles it eschewed the radicalism of David Friedlander and of Lazarus Bendavid, and strove to adhere to traditional Judaism, justifying its moderate innovations by appeals to the Talmud and the Codes, as is evident from the writings of Rabbi Aaron Chorin and the collected responsa of *Nogah Hazedek*.¹ Zunz introduced a new element. He appealed to the testimony of historical science, which came into being with the researches of Rapoport, Krochmal, and others. The historical approach added a new dimension to Judaism as a whole. In contrast to the earlier static view of Judaism, including Mendelssohn's, Zunz's idea presented Judaism as a growing spiritual phenomenon, responding to the needs of changing times.

I

Yom Tob Lippmann (Leopold) Zunz was born in Detmold, in the principality of Lippe, in the heart of Germany, on August 12, 1794. His father was R. Mendl Emanuel, an indigent scholar, and his mother Hendel Behrens, the daughter of an indigent hazzan at Detmold. When Leopold was one year old, the family moved to Hamburg, where the father opened a Beth Hamidrash. But tubercular trouble forced him to abandon teaching; and he opened a small grocery store. As the business brought him little income, he supplemented it with private tutoring. He used to take the young Leopold on his walks, and initiated him, when he was of a very tender age, in Hebrew grammar, Pentateuch, and the Jewish script. At five Leopold knew parts of the Bible by heart and began to study Talmud. Owing to his father's ailment, he passed to a number of other teachers. A year after his father's death (July 3, 1802), the frail precocious nine year old lad was placed in the Beth Hamidrash of R. Hertz Samson at Wolfenbüttel (June 5, 1803), where he met the future historian Marcus Jost

¹ Dessau, 1818.

with whom he formed a life-long friendship. The instruction which consisted mainly of Talmud, lasted until 5 P. M. during the summer, and until 4 in the winter. Bible was taught on Friday morning by Herr Kalman, who kept Mendelssohn's translation before him. Four or five hours a week were devoted to writing Yiddish and German, to reading and arithmetic. The head master was Reb Lik of Burg Ebrach (near Bamberg), a Cabbalist who had studied in Poland. Following the sudden death of both teachers, a man named Michel took over for a while. Zunz remembers him particularly for his laziness.

A change came over the school, about the time of the beginning of French rule in Westphalia, with the arrival of inspector Ehrenberg. "In one day, literally," Zunz writes, "we had passed from the middle ages to a new era." The school was reorganized along modern lines. The young Zunz was enabled to earn his livelihood by tutoring younger boys at the Samson school.² After the death of his mother, on November 9, 1809, Ehrenberg acted as a parent to him. He taught him ancient history, supplementing it with translations into Hebrew, of studies in aesthetics and natural history. Zunz was considered more a member of the Ehrenberg family than a pupil. Subsequently the pupil honored the memory of his teacher by writing his biography. In 1809 (while Jost entered the gymnasium of Brunswick), Zunz was admitted to the upper class of the gymnasium in Wolfenbüttel, being the first Jewish boy to attend a public high school. During 1810 he taught at the Free School in exchange for board and lodging, and continued his studies in algebra and optics. The same year he began to write poetry, and was appointed teacher by the Consistory of Westphalia.

At the age of twenty-one (1815), Zunz left for Berlin, where he was welcomed by one of the parnassim, Reuben Samuel Gumpertz, who became his patron. However, Zunz would not live in the home of his patron, not willing to be a recipient of charity. Instead, he accepted a tutorship in the home of Henrietta Hertz, whose son was too frail in health to attend a public school. Zunz soon began to contribute belles-lettres and poetry to Gubitz's *Gesellschafter* and J. D. Simansky's *Leuchte* (1817), and to develop his interest in scholarship.

On Yom Kippur, 1816, he attended the Jacobson Temple and heard the first sermon in German. He was drawn to the Reform circle and resolved to become a preacher. He wrote his first sermon in 1817, on "Religiosität," in the spirit of Schleiermacher, and delivered it before a circle of friends in Berlin. The same year, he preached in Leipzig. At the University of Berlin, he studied under August Boeckh and Fr. A. Wolf, the creators of modern philology, from whom he learned

² Zunz, "Schooldays," in L. W. Schwartz's *Memoirs of my People*, pp. 319-24.

how to delve into ancient writings and to wrest their secrets. He studied Semitics under the Bible critics De Wette and Wilken, and came under the influence of the philosophers Savigny and Schleiermacher. While still at Wolfenbüttel he was introduced to Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* and to David Ganz's *Ẓemah David*. He now received a further impulse toward Jewish scholarship through manuscripts from Palestine and Turkey, shown him by a Polish Jew, David ben Aaron.

These interests expressed themselves in his first essay "Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur; Nebst Nachrichten über ein Altes bis Jetzt Ungedrucktes Hebräisches Werk" (1818). This study marks the birth of modern Jewish historical and literary criticism. In the belief that rabbinic learning had drawn to an end and that no further contributions in this field might be expected in the future, Zunz advocated that efforts should be made to secure an accurate account of its achievements. He exposed the ignorance of non-Jewish writers on Jews and Judaism, and showed the valuable contributions which Jews had made to many sciences. On this account, he pleaded for the recognition of Judaism and its literature in university research and teaching. While mistaken in its basic assumption, this essay marks a contribution of the first order to the new Science of Judaism in Germany. It forms an introduction to Zunz's entire career of scholarship, outlining the task of the scientific study of Judaism to which he devoted himself through a period of more than half a century.

About the time of the appearance of his essay, he was invited to become a candidate for the position of preacher at the Hamburg Temple, a position which he might have secured, had he not withdrawn in favor of his friend Büschenthal whom he recognized as more competent for the position than himself. He returned from his visit to Hamburg, and resumed his studies at the University of Berlin, which he completed in 1819. His degree of Ph.D., he received from the University of Halle in 1821. His dissertation dealt with Shem Tob ibn Falaquera's *Sefer Hama'alot*.

As his reputation began to spread, leaders of communities consulted him on Jewish questions. In 1820 Baruch Landau, the head of the Maskilim of Königsberg, asked him to outline the program of studies for the school which was to be opened in his city. Zunz's reply does not show that he excelled in pedagogy. It is, therefore, not surprising that his effort to secure a teaching position in Königsberg failed. Instead, he was afforded the opportunity of preaching at the Beer Temple in Berlin (from May, 1820 to the spring of 1822). His forthrightness to the point of bluntness gave offense to some of the

leading members. On learning that the Board planned to reprimand him for his tactlessness, he sent in his resignation. His letter was returned to him unopened, with a notification of his dismissal. The sermons which he preached at the Beer Temple, were published in 1823, with an introduction in which he voices his complaint against the deplorable conditions prevailing in the great communities of Israel. Despite their lack of Jewish distinctiveness, such as the use of Midrash, etc., his sermons were of a high character. David Kaufmann regards them as "the richest which the eloquence of the pulpit in Germany has given forth to the Jews."³

As preacher of the Beer Temple, he surrounded himself with a circle of intellectuals who helped him found the "Verein für die Kultur u. Wissenschaft d. Juden" (Nov. 17, 1819). Its purpose was to lead the Jews, through culture and knowledge, into harmonious relation to the age and the nation in which they lived. Emancipation and Reform were to be buttressed by the results of the Science of Judaism. The jurist and Hegelian, Eduard Gans, acted as president. The practical-minded Moser, an employee of D. Friedlander, was one of the chief workers. The spiritual dynamo of the society was Zunz. Other outstanding members were Emanuel Wolf (1799-1847), a protégé of Jacobson and an assistant preacher at the Hamburg Temple, Ludwig Markus (who, failing to secure an appointment as professor of history in a German University, accepted a position at Dijon in France, and ended as a research scholar, supported by the Rothschilds in Paris), and Heinrich Heine. The roster included also the veterans Lazarus Bendavid, David Friedlander, and Israel Jacobson. The society originally called itself "Young Israel," and numbered 50 members in Berlin, 20 in Hamburg, and some in other cities. The Verein lasted three years. Its great expectations proved disappointing. However, if it had accomplished nothing more than to enable Zunz to propagate his scientific ideas and to expose Heine to Zunz's influence, inspiring him with Jewish themes and reminiscences, it would have justified its existence. Gans, for all his calls to loyalty, went over to Christianity, to secure an appointment as professor of jurisprudence at the University of Berlin. Heine, too, abandoned the ship. Zunz, in the words of Heine, "remained true to the great caprice of his soul." Under his editorship, the Verein published its one volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1823), to which he contributed the best articles. These included a study of the names of Spanish cities in Jewish literature, *Ueber die in den hebräisch-jüdischen Schriften vorkommenden hispanischen Ortsnamen*, in which he outlined a complete program of scientific writing of Jewish history and religion. Of still

³ *Jewish Chronicle*, August 8, 1884, p. 7.

greater importance was his biography of Rashi, the first methodical presentation of a Jewish worthy, which served as a model for S. L. Rapoport in the writing of his biographies of Nathan of Rome, Saadia, Kalir, R. Hai, R. Hananel, etc. A third essay of similarly high scientific merit was his *Grundlinien zu einer Künftigen Statistik der Juden*, which charted out the lines of study of Jewish demography in all its phases.

Zunz expressed his bitter disappointment over the failure of the Verein in a letter to his Hamburg friend Immanuel Wohlwill (Wolf), written in 1824. "Jews, and the Judaism which we wish to reconstruct," he lamented, "are a prey to disunion, and the booty of vandals, fools, money changers, idiots, and *parnassim*. Many a change or season will pass over this generation and leave it unchanged: internally ruptured, rushing into the arms of Christianity, the religion of expediency, without stamina and without principle; one section thrust aside by Europe and vegetating in filth, with longing eyes directed toward the Messiah's ass or other members of the long-eared fraternity; the other occupied with fingering state securities and the pages of a cyclopedia, and constantly oscillating between wealth and bankruptcy, oppression and tolerance. Their own science is dead among Jews, and the intellectual concerns of European nations do not appeal to them because, faithless to themselves, they are strangers to abstract truth and slaves of self-interest." As to the disappearance of the Verein, Zunz observes, "The truth is that it never had existence. Five or six enthusiasts met together, and like Moses ventured to believe that their spirit would communicate itself to others. That was self-deception. The only imperishable possession rescued from this deluge is the Science of Judaism. It lives even though not a finger has been raised in its service for hundreds of years. I confess that, barring submission to the judgment of God, I find solace only in the cultivation of the Science of Judaism."⁴

His livelihood, Zunz eked out from teaching Latin, Greek, and mathematics. In 1822, he joined the editorial staff of the "*Haude und Spener'sche Zeitung*." In 1826, he was appointed director of the Jewish Gemeindeschule, a post which he held to 1830, when he resigned because his plans for the school's improvement were blocked. This meant still greater drudgery in the *Spener'sche Zeitung*, for which he excerpted and translated from the foreign press. Due to differences of political opinion with the management, he relinquished also this position (1831).

⁴ Cited in English translation in G. Karpeles' *Jewish Literature and Other Essays*, pp. 325-26.

II

His enforced leisure he utilized for writing his classic work, which was to make him the acknowledged master of the Science of Judaism. As far back as 1825, he had drafted a plan for a work in four parts on the "Wissenschaft des Judentums," and subsequently began to negotiate with publishers regarding the projected writing. On October 18, 1831, he began to labor in earnest, and issued *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* on July 21, 1832. The work was to serve a threefold purpose: to establish the full right of the Jews to citizenship, to overcome the Prussian government's prohibition of preaching in the vernacular in the synagogues (such sermons being legally recognized as the exclusive claim of Christianity), and to vindicate the right of Judaism and its literature as an academic study in the universities.

In the remarkable preface to this work, Zunz inveighs against the authorities of Germany for withholding from the Jews their human rights. "The time has come," he declares, "that the Jews of Europe, and particularly of Germany, be granted full right and liberty instead of rights and liberties; not miserable degrading privileges, but complete elevating citizenship." "The Emancipation of the Jews," Zunz observes, "has made considerable headway in the past fifty years, despite the miserable scribblers. The more capable writers and the greater legislators rallied to the side of oppressed Jewry. A liberal attitude is being shown by German princes, who have hearts for their Jewish and Christian subjects.

"The civil disabilities of the Jews are bound up with the neglect of Jewish science. Through ampler spiritual culture and more profound knowledge of their own affairs, the Jews would not only have attained a higher degree of recognition and also of right, but could have avoided many a blunder of legislation and many a prejudice against Jewish antiquity, which are a direct consequence of the neglected condition in which, for the past seventy years, Jewish literature and the Science of Judaism find themselves in Germany. And though the writings about the Talmud and against the Jews spring up overnight like mushrooms, and some dozens of Solons obtrude themselves upon us, as reformers, there has been no book of importance, from which statesmen might have secured counsel, no professor lectured on Judaism and Jewish literature, no German academy offered a prize in this field, no philanthropist undertook travels in its behalf. Lawgiver and scholar — I make no mention of the vulgar writers — had to follow mendaciously, the seventeenth century authorities: Eisenmänger, Schudt, Buxdorf, etc., or to borrow the doubtful wisdom of modern reporters . . . The

real so-called 'Knowledge of Judaism' stands to this day where Eisenmänger placed it one hundred thirty-five years ago, and philology has hardly moved from its position these two hundred years. Consequently, even estimable writers, on approaching the Jewish problem, assume a wholly other, one might say a ghostly nature; all citations out of the secondary sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are copied; objections which were successfully refuted long ago, are dished up again." Abandoning all scientific discipline, they conjure up — in ignorance or in malice — out of an imaginary Judaism and their own Christianity, a kind of conversionist system, or they erroneously deduce the need of retrogressive laws. Though some excellent men have raised their voices in behalf of Jewish knowledge, not enough has been done in this direction.

"In the meantime, however, the Jews have not remained wholly idle. Since Mendelssohn, they have written and labored in behalf of civil rights, culture, and Reform, and finally also in the interest of their downtrodden antiquities. In life and in science, in education and in religion, in ideas, needs, and hopes, the new age has revealed its strength. Good seed has been sown, admirable forces have developed. But there still is no protecting institution which might serve as the foundation of progress and science and as the religious center of the community. The physical and police needs of the Jewish communities are cared for by hospitals and orphanages, institutions for poor-relief and cemeteries. But religion and science, civil liberty, intellectual progress, require schools, seminaries, and synagogues. They demand the labor of active communal boards, capable teachers of the young, and of trained rabbis. If emancipation and science are not to be empty sound, or vain and delusive articles of fashion, but the living source of morality, which we have rediscovered after long straying in the desert, they must fructify institutions: high-ranking teachers' institutes, public religious education, estimable divine service, practical synagogue discourses

"The free word of instruction is an urgent necessity. Whatever treasures the human race possesses, it has acquired through oral teaching, the effect of which is felt continuously throughout life. In Israel, too, at all times, the word of instruction has been heard from mouth to mouth, and every further success of Jewish institutions can issue only from words overflowing with wisdom and knowledge. For this reason, the great desire for the word of instruction has made itself felt, and there is frequent demand that rabbis and teachers be capable of delivering instructive and edifying addresses for children in the school and for adults in the synagogue. In various places there

have already been introduced regular sermons and edifying discourses, partly in the schools and partly in the synagogues. Here and there other improvements, too, have been introduced into the public service. This reformatory activity naturally produced strife and discord, literary feuds, even the interposition of governments. However, although the sermon in the synagogue and the other changes have to struggle continually with real obstacles, in connection with which there is no lack of bombastic invectives (heresy, new-Judaism, deism, etc.), true Reform among the Jews marches on, hindered by enemies and missionaries of all kinds, but not destroyed."⁵

The central idea of the *Vorträge* is the unbroken chain of Judaism, Biblical and Rabbinic. Since the fall of the Temple, the Synagogue has been the sole pillar of the Jewish nation. In it the Jewish faith found refuge, and in it the Jewish people have received instruction for their guidance on their earthly pilgrimage, strength to persevere under the direst sufferings, and hope for the dawn of future freedom. Public worship in the Synagogue has served as the standard of Jewish nationality. While prayers were offered in the Synagogue, every place and every hour were considered holy for worship, and every language equally euphonious. Besides serving as a house of prayer and as a house of assembly or congregation, the Synagogue has functioned as a house of study. Prayer combines with instruction to achieve the object and purpose of the divine service of the Synagogue. This two-fold character of Jewish worship, Zunz traces to its distant origins, to the convocations on the Sabbaths, New-moons, and Festivals, when prayers were spoken and the Torah was read and the exhortations of the Prophets were recited. The instruction that was developed in the Synagogue, in connection with expounding the Law and the Prophets, is traced through the Targumim and Midrashim, and the homilies of the rabbis through the centuries. Likewise, the formation of the Synagogue liturgy is traced stage by stage, down to the nineteenth century. Thus he demonstrated not only that preaching forms an integral part of Jewish worship, but also that the liturgy — far from being static, as Orthodoxy maintained — has been subject to continuous development.

The closing chapter of the book is devoted to the contemporary situation in Judaism. Zunz distinguishes three factors in the new age. The first, *Enlightenment*, belongs to Mendelssohn's time and concerned itself with improvements in language and knowledge; the second, *Education*, represents the quarter century after Mendelssohn;

⁵ The preface appeared in censored form, in the first edition, and in complete form in the second edition, and in the *Gesam. Schr.*, see pp. V–XI.

the third is the strivings of the most recent generations for *Reform*. With Jewish enlightenment came the recognition of the need for civic equality; but outside of single attempts, the law had not produced emancipation, nor had education achieved reform. "Complete emancipation," he insists, "is the requirement of complete reform, which can express itself only in institutions which would protect both faith and science, and transmit the heritage of the fathers in uncorrupted form to the sons."

The lack of institutions suitable to the spirit of the times is felt most in the Synagogue, which serves to express the national Jewish spirit and guarantees its religious preservation. "If there is anything that must be raised from decay, it is this ancient institution in which law and teaching, the old commandment and the new duty, unite the present with the past, and in which devotion receives its language and the invisible its form. The better educated youth must be prepared for the house of God, there to continue its religious education, so that religious teaching may penetrate the new life and breathe the warmth of youth into the frozen forms."

This demand cannot be satisfied by the Polish rabbis nor by the antiquated *yeshivot*. General religious instruction and the training of rabbis are inextricably connected with improvements in religious worship. Zunz surveys the various attempts at reform along these lines, in communities in Germany and other countries. With unshaken faith in the future he declares: "But the light must go forth not from Babylon, but from Germany, from this our fatherland, whose inhabitants combine patience and energy, insight and probity, in wonderful degree, and where alongside of legal freedom and true civilization, there advances uninterruptedly both the civil and the spiritual emancipation of the Jews. Religious persecution, spiritual oppression, and decadence," he thinks, "no longer can resist the forces of the new age in which I see the promise also of progress for Israel and the hope for good schools, capable boards of congregations, intelligent rabbis, educational institutions, improved divine worship, communities that strive single-heartedly for the good. For Reform consists not in externals, but in the divine spirit of piety and of knowledge, in the word of the teacher and the rabbi, which is full of this spirit, in the institution that transforms the word into deed, in the school, and in the Synagogue. The right act does not tarry if the spirit and word are effective. When Reform will have accomplished its preparatory work within, the outer form will easily be found." The improvement of synagogal worship in which that form manifests itself, may be reduced to three activities: introduction of the new forms, changing of existing

ones, and restoration of the pristine and the legitimate in place of the existing and decaying elements.

Concretely, the reforms of the Synagogue worship consist first, of improvements in the musical renditions of the service. Instrumental accompaniment, while new, is not strange to the Jewish spirit. After citing historical precedents, Zunz adds: "However, unity is the most melodious harmony. It is, therefore, better to be without organ and choral song if they are the only cause of congregational strife."

Second, the reforms affect chiefly the prayers of the Synagogue, in content, recitation, and language. Surprisingly, nothing is said about the theological content of the liturgy; but the discussion relates only to its formal expression. As pointed out in the twenty-first chapter of the book, "Only the Shema, the Tephilah, some benedictions and thanksgivings, hymns, and private prayers, belong to the period of the Soferim, the Mishna and the Talmud; but all the rest, including the piyyutim, the selihot, and the kinot, come from the period of the Geonim, the payyetanim, and the first Rabbinic generation. Naturally, this large extension of the liturgy took place gradually, encountering various forms of opposition, so that great differences exist between the order of prayers of Jews of Africa, Italy, Greece, Spain, Provence, Germany, and Poland. Consequently, no organized Jewish authority or community can be denied the right to remove these additions, above all those which, on account of their length, obscurity, and objectionable content, hinder rather than stimulate devotion, and especially since in this respect the Sephardic prayerbook excels that of the Ashkenazim, and since older rabbis of Palestine, Poland, Germany, and Italy sought to eliminate most of the piyyutim. Still less may one prohibit the introduction of new prayers, since from the period of the Great Assembly to the present, divine worship was continually enriched by the Soferim, the authorities of the Sanhedrin, the teachers of the Mishna, the Amoraim, Geonim, payyetanim, rabbis, poets, hazzanim, heads of communities, cabbalists, etc. The authors of the prayers composed with the view of letting the congregations choose, for the sages never approved excessive multiplication of prayers. The right to choose, therefore, applies to the abolition of the old and the reception of the new."

As to the mode of rendition of the prayers, it has been proposed to modernize the music of the Synagogue and to introduce the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew. The first proposal, Zunz accepts with the observation that this was recommended some two hundred years ago, and that outside of some ancient melodies, most of those in common use are of late origin and often unsuitable in character. As

to the Sephardic pronunciation, he is of the opinion that it is advisable only if all children in the schools are taught their Hebrew in this pronunciation. With regard to the use of the vernacular in worship, he points out that all sages permit it, and under certain conditions even command it, and that this permission applies to the oldest and most important prayers. "Nonetheless," he adds, "it may be fitting presently to preserve the Hebrew text of these ancient and venerable things, but to read the Psalms, the newer poems and prayers, in the language of the country."

"But," Zunz concludes, "the most important of the improvements consists not so much in this 'change' or in the other 'innovation,' as in restoration, in turning from misuse to proper use, i. e., in turning the torpid into living forms." Hence reformatory efforts encounter the opposition of prejudice and of ignorance. "The abuses in Synagogue worship, of which the most respected sages complained are: disorder, shouting, and swaying of the body, lack of devotion and attention, appointment of improper cantors, the use of unsuitable melodies and superfluous singing, reading of the Torah lessons with cantillation, the sale of the functions connected with Torah reading, arrogance, the impudence of the rich in the house of God, the absence of rabbis and the shortage of capable supervisors in the synagogue, and above all, the neglect of appropriate regular sermons. In former times, when the synagogue was free from these defects, which are more painful than the lack of music and the excess of piyyutim, worship was genuine, and not thoughtless routine. Next to the incomprehensibility of the prayers, the consciousness of these annoyances aroused, in our days, the longing for the salutary improvement of the house of God."

In the improvements of the Synagogue, Zunz concludes, "attention must be paid to the removal of these defects, and above all, to the restoration of regular preaching. Let the preacher be called rabbi, teacher, or speaker, as long as he knows how to find in Bible and in Aggada, the word of God, and how to extract the pure gold out of old and new efforts, to discover the true calling in the present, and to find the proper language to appeal to the hearts of men. Then the divine spirit will be restored to the synagogues, and the living word will restore the institutions of Israel."

The program of reform, which Zunz presents, is based on the actual changes that were introduced in the various congregations in Germany and elsewhere. What is distinctive in the presentation, is Zunz's enthusiasm for the cause of Reform and his confidence in its future. In the concluding paragraph of the book he writes: "Irrevocable as is the triumph of freedom and of civilization, of civic equality

of the Jews and of their scientific culture, so irrevocable is Reform and the victory of the word which brings this Reform to expression."⁶

The *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* was the result of indefatigable labor, the exploring of literary treasures stored away in libraries, and of neglected and forgotten manuscripts. As a true scientist, Zunz disdained scoring easy victories. Every point that he made was based on careful and impartial examination of the facts. As Isaac Hirsch Weiss remarked: "Zunz was essentially a man of truth, and neither love nor hatred could tempt him to overstep the bounds of strictest accuracy." He combined masterly arrangement of the whole with the most painstaking microscopic investigation of the minutest detail. I. H. Weiss pointed to the revolution which this pioneer work effected among Jewish scholars. Zunz, he writes, accomplished two results: "He laid the foundation for a history of Midrashic literature, a subject never hitherto touched. His work also afforded material help towards comprehension of the evolution of culture among the Jews at successive periods, and may claim to have established the principles upon which Jewish history should be based."⁷ Zunz became the indispensable guide of all workers in the hitherto uncharted fields of investigation. David Kaufmann characterized the *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* as "no book, but an event; not a literary work, but a school has been founded."⁸ Schechter comments: The *Vorträge* kindled the flame of Jewish science, "and it was by its own light that students studied it as well as wrote reviews on it, not reviews of a mere negative character, but such as were destined to become in themselves a part of Jewish science . . . What we have in mind are the numerous monographs on certain simple points and the many critical editions of Rabbinical works."⁹

Leaders of Reform vied with one another in praise of the *Vorträge*. Geiger acclaimed it "a historical event, a turning point in the movement of the spirit. It inaugurated new activity in all spheres; and there is not a scholar who would not acknowledge the impulse and the instruction which he received from this work."¹⁰ Holdheim's biographer, Immanuel Heinrich Richter, writes admiringly that "Zunz showed his astonished contemporaries that what had been despised and considered dead, was full of life and movement, an essential constituent of the ideal possession of mankind; and that one steps on holy

⁶ *G. V.*, pp. 469 ff.; 490-96.

⁷ *J. Q. R.*, O. S., VII, 370; 388.

⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, Aug. 15, 1884, p. 7.

⁹ *Studies*, III, 103.

¹⁰ *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, p. 307.

ground when he approaches this domain. With a love for which the minutest detail was not too insignificant nor to be overlooked, with ingenious circumspection that never lost sight of the totality, Judaism was presented as a great spiritual organism in which form and content ever satisfactorily merge; and an uninterrupted intimate union governs the inner soul of the faith and its followers. At the same time, the application to the present is not wanting; rather the entire laborious way was undertaken from the start to demonstrate that synagogal preaching took place in all vital periods and in all languages, among the followers of Judaism."¹¹ Emil G. Hirsch ranks the *Vorträge* as "the most important Jewish work published in the 19th century."¹² Caesar Seligman writes: "This work signifies the birth-hour of the Science of Judaism and simultaneously the birth-hour of scientific Reform Judaism in Germany."¹³

In his biography of Zunz, S. P. Rabinowitz speaks of the *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* not as a mere book of science, but also as an arsenal; and points out that all the religious parties of German Jewry derived their ammunition from this pioneer work of Jewish history and literature. The orthodox found, in it, proofs for their claim that the Torah and its ethical principles and the strict observance of its commandments — which produced the masters of the Aggada and the Halacha — preserved Judaism. The progressives argued, on the basis of this work, that while the essence of Judaism is truth eternal and unchanging, its external forms have been altered in accord with the demands of changing times. The radical reformers, too, found in it, support for their thorough-going modifications of the spirit as well as the forms of Judaism. It is noteworthy that both Geiger and Holdheim were inspired by this work, in both their reformatory and their scientific labors. As a matter of fact, Rabinowitz observes, the ideas

¹¹ *Geschichte d. jüdischen Reformation*. Samuel Holdheim, 1865, pp. 81–82.

¹² *J. E.*, XII, 701. As soon as the *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* made its appearance, David Caro devoted himself to preparing a translation of it into Hebrew. He completed his work December 3, 1833. Zunz himself revised the translation (April 7, 1835). The MS. was in the library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, MS. 106, (*R. E. J.*, XL, p. 36; Schechter, *Studies*, III, 139–40; 281, n. 17). I. H. Weiss reports that in reply to C. D. Lippe's request for permission to translate the work into Hebrew, Zunz gave his consent, but added that the book needs corrections which, on account of his advanced age, he could not personally execute, and that he would be pleased if I. H. Weiss and his colleagues "were to undertake the responsibility of superintending the publication of a correct translation." (*J. Q. R.*, VII, 381, n. 1.) A Hebrew translation, under the editorship of Professor Albeck, appeared in Jerusalem in 1947.

¹³ *Geschichte d. jüdischen Reformbewegung*, 1922, p. 88; cf. Bernfeld, *Toledot Hareformazion*, p. 99.

and feelings of all three movements were confusedly combined in Zunz's own spirit. Conflicting ideas struggled within him until his forty-sixth year, when he came to a final settlement of his views.

III

Following the publication of the *Vorträge*, Zunz traveled to a number of German cities to enlist the interest of his friends in his work. In Hamburg he stayed the entire month of September, spending most of his time in the library of rare books and manuscripts of Heimann Joseph Michael. The delight of that visit lived in his mind for many years. In Zunz's correspondence with Michael (from 1832 to 1846), which consists for the most part of requests for bibliographical information and for checking passages in works contained in Michael's collection, there recurs the continuous complaint about his economic insecurity. He seeks Michael's aid in securing a position of any kind that might leave him a half or third part of the day for study and would yield him an income of twenty-five marks a week or thirteen hundred marks a year. The help which he hoped to receive from his friends proved disappointing.¹⁴

Two years after the appearance of the *Vorträge*, an attempt was made by Rabbi I. Joelson to secure, for Zunz, the rabbinical position of the Duchy of Darmstadt, an appointment that was made by the government at the election of the heads of the Kehilla. The Orthodox party, however, would not permit the reformer to take the post. When asked for a *Semicha*, Zunz secured a *Hattarat Horaah* from Aaron Chorin,¹⁵ but that was no recommendation for the Orthodox. R. Jacob Joseph Ettinger of Berlin, when asked to express an opinion regarding Zunz's qualifications, declared him unfit for the position.

Apprised of the situation, Zunz withdrew his candidacy. The same year he was asked to consider a rabbinical post in Cassel. He replied that he would not be a candidate, and that he would accept the post only if it were offered to him without conditions. When the position of preacher was offered to him in Prague, he readily accepted. The Prussian prohibition of preaching did not apply in Austrian cities. The Maskilim, headed by Moses Landau,¹⁶ the grandson of R. Ezekiel Landau, organized themselves for the purpose of modernizing the synagogue worship and of introducing preaching in German. In 1835

¹⁴ Rabinowitz, *Yom Tob Lippman Zunz*, 122-25.

¹⁵ For the text of Chorin's *Hattarat Horaah*, see E. Schreiber, *Reformed Judaism*, 1892, pp. 88-89.

¹⁶ He edited the *Arukh* and translated the *Maḥzor*.

they received permission to form a separate community along Reform lines. They tried to institute reforms in the old synagogue of Prague, but these necessitated the removal of the *bema* from the center of the building, the erecting of a platform in front of the ark, and the building of a loft for the choir. Such renovations were opposed by the Orthodox, headed by R. Samuel Landau, the son of R. Ezekiel Landau, who publicly anathematized anyone who would presume to tear down the old building, and invoked death upon those who would move a stone from the holy place. He also informed the government authorities that while he was not opposed to improving decorum in worship or to instituting changes which did not involve alterations in those prayers received from the Men of the Great Synagogue, it is forbidden by Jewish law to tear down a synagogue. After two years of negotiation, the city magistrate turned over the old synagogue to the reformers and authorized them to proceed with their plans of transforming it into a temple. No basic changes were made in the liturgy, but only in the mode of worship, and through the introduction of choral singing and of preaching in German. To fill the post of preacher, a call was extended to Zunz.

The *Ketab Darshanut* (Preaching Contract) that was sent to him, contained 20 paragraphs. The ninth specifies the obligations of a preaching rabbi to consist of:

"Delivering a sermon every Sabbath between Shaḥarit and Musaf, performing marriages, conducting confirmations, delivering eulogies for the dead, either at the synagogue or at the cemetery, delivering wedding sermons, reciting prayers (*Mi sheberach*) for mothers in child-birth and the newborn babies, for the sick, and for the souls of the dead."

Zunz arrived in Prague on September 16, 1835, and found himself in an uncongenial atmosphere without the scholarly contacts to which he had grown accustomed in Berlin, without libraries, and under the vigilant eye of the government censor. Upon his arrival on Austrian territory, he was obliged to sign this statement: "The undersigned hereby declares to the chief censor that the two boxes of Hebrew books which he brought along, are his property and for his own studies and writings. Moreover, he obligates himself in particular to be the sole user of the *משימ יצועה*, *שבט יהודה*, *מנורת המאור*, *ילקוט ראובני*, and the *Zohar*, and to neither lend nor sell them to anyone in this province." These books were singled out because they contain elements objectionable to the Church.

Zunz found himself, as he wrote, "in China," with scarcely a person

to understand him. After fifty days in Prague he wrote to a friend in Berlin that each day had been a year to him, suffocating in its "narrow atmosphere." He missed his "books, periodicals, men, liberty."¹⁷ To his friend Michael, he explained his departure from Prague: "My views and principles do not agree with the political and religious conception of the people of Prague. And so it is better that I go forth. Also, I would not be subject to the rabbis and parnassim of Prague, and can apply my time more fruitfully than with comedy."¹⁸ On July 12, 1836, he returned to Berlin, cured of all further ambition for rabbinical or preaching positions, and resolved to devote himself exclusively to research.

The atmosphere in Berlin was not all to his liking either. To his younger colleague Steinschneider, he characterized the circle in which he moved as "סכבוי כלבים, i. e., merchants, physicians, idiots, men of power and impudence, but no men of thought, of learning. Though Berlin almost bursts with culture, love of philosophy, . . . no one amounts to anything unless he is *ein Christ mit Titel oder ein Jude mit Mittel*. The activity of the present monkeys, foxes, and wolves, is exactly like that of the contemporaries of Kohelet, only the tails are painted differently."

"But for a few poor people who perhaps would work if they had enough to eat, the field of Jewish learning is dead in Berlin. Lebrecht and I will recite the necrologies over it."¹⁹ Berlin, as he stated in a subsequent letter, is a land of drought. He keenly felt the lack of interest on the part of the public, in Jewish science and in Jewish scholars. "If you devote yourself to Jewish learning," he wrote to Steinschneider, "do not expect a bed of roses, unless, as I wish with all my heart, the next generation may harvest the seed sown by the present one." Madame Zunz re-echoed the sentiment in her personal way: "Of what avail is it if posterity will honor Zunz for his accomplishments? Now he has little advantage, especially in Berlin."²⁰

An attempt was made to secure for him a position of clerk in the Jewish Community of Berlin, but the guardians of Orthodoxy rejected him on the pretext that it would be disrespectful to engage so distinguished a scholar for so menial a post.

¹⁷ See E. G. Hirsch, art. "Zunz," *J. E.*, XII, 702.

¹⁸ He gave his reason for leaving Prague, in a letter to Michael (April 11, 1826); "Briefwechsel zwischen Michael und Zunz," edited by Abraham Berliner, *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Hebrew part, p. 67.

¹⁹ Cited by Marx, *Jewish History and Booklore*, p. 350.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

Despite his privation, he continued his research and writing. A new source of annoyance to the Jews of Prussia called forth his next work. By cabinet order (1828 and renewed on August 10, 1836), Frederick William III forbade the Jews to substitute, in their birth records and public documents, names current among Christians, for their own first names, or to give their newborn children Christian first names, and demanded that, on their business signs, they must add their Hebrew names. The purpose of the decree was to drive the Jews from public life and thereby to coerce them to embrace Christianity. The decree did not last long, but it prompted the administration of the Berlin Community to ask Zunz to deal with the problem scientifically. The result was his treatise *Die Namen Der Juden*, published on December 7, 1836. In it he demonstrated that from earliest times Jews adopted names current among their neighbors, Aramaic, Persian, Greek, Latin, Old German, French, Slavic, etc., and that no obstacle was ever put in their way. Furthermore, the so-called Christian names which they then used, had long been in vogue among Jews. This dispassionate treatment, which removed the ground of the anti-Jewish legislation, brought the author not only the admiration of scholars but also the gratitude of the Jewish Community. Its leaders now informed him of the intention to form a *Lehrerseminar*, with him as director.

In the meantime Zunz launched a task of great pedagogical importance, a new translation of the Bible (1838). The Mendelssohn version of the Pentateuch and the Psalms, supplemented by the translation and interpretation of other books — the Biurist Bible — had served its purpose. The various Biurists were not of the same scholarly stature, and, consequently, their translations were not of equal value. Further progress in exegesis called for revisions in the translation. In addition, the Biurist Bible was too bulky and too costly for popular use. In view of the activities of various Christian societies in England, Germany, and other lands, to spread their version of the Bible, an inexpensive Jewish translation for school and home, appeared urgent. Zunz undertook the editorial work, besides supplying the translation of Chronicles. The remainder was done by the famous preacher and poet Michael Sachs, who had succeeded Zunz as preacher in Prague, and, after eight years, had become Rabbi of Berlin, Dr. Heimann Arnheim, and Dr. Julius Fürst. Utilizing the results of newer Bible exegesis, the translators carefully followed the Massorah. The Zunz Bible, appearing fifty-five years after Mendelssohn's Pentateuch, enjoyed great popularity through seventeen editions.

IV

The Normal School (*Lehrerseminar*) was opened on November 16, 1840, with Zunz as director. He was now free to pursue his studies undisturbed by financial worries. On accepting this position, he introduced strict Kashrut into his home, not as a concession to public sentiment, but out of the new conviction that was born in him, and as an expression of his changed attitude toward Reform. In contradistinction to the growing emphasis by the Reformers on the universal elements in Judaism, he came to regard the national consciousness as the power that preserved Judaism. As an adherent of Judaism, he must follow the norms, sanctions, and usages, which obtain among the Jewish people.

With the passing of the years and with his complete absorption in his scientific research, Zunz became alienated from the course of events in the camp of Reform. The movement appeared to him to have taken a dangerous turn away from the authentically Jewish — what Zunz designated as the “national.” Whereas the early Reformers invoked the support of the Talmud to justify their departures from traditional practice, their successors questioned the authority of the Talmud altogether. Judaism, they maintained, is more than the Talmud, more even than the Bible. The inviolability of Talmudical and rabbinical legislation became an issue in the Hamburg Temple Prayer Book controversy in 1841, and in the Tiktin-Geiger affair, 1840. Bold voices rejected the Talmud as the last word in Judaism. Particularly outspoken on this issue, was the abortive Frankfort Society of the Friends of Reform (1842). Its Declaration of Principles, while recognizing “the possibility of unlimited development in the Mosaic religion,” stated that “the collection of controversies, dissertations, and prescriptions, commonly designated by the name Talmud, possesses for us no authority from either the dogmatic or the practical standpoint.” The third paragraph announced: “A Messiah who is to lead the Israelites back to the land of Palestine, is neither expected nor desired by us; we know no fatherland except that to which we belong by birth or citizenship.”

The original draft of the Declaration contained two additional principles: that the members of the Society “do not consider binding, the various ritual, dietary, and other laws concerned with bodily practices, that emanated from ancient polity”; and that “they do not consider circumcision binding as either a religious act or a symbol.”²¹

²¹ D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, pp. 118 ff.

The Reform Society, it has been remarked, "died a-borning." It was repudiated by the general community and disapproved by most of the Reform rabbis, with the exception of the radicals Holdheim and Hess. Geiger declared himself out of sympathy with the Society on account of the vagueness of its aims and dishonesty in its utterances. Instead of proceeding cautiously, it aroused the greatest antagonism by attacking the rite of circumcision, which has been considered the chief nerve (*Grundnerv*) of Judaism.²² Though the paragraph in opposition to circumcision was not included in the official Declaration, the general public associated the idea with the Society. When an instance occurred of a father who refused to have his son circumcised, the Orthodox rabbi of Frankfort, Solomon Abraham Trier, appealed to the Senate of the city, requesting that it issue a ruling that no child of Jewish parents could be received into the congregation as a Jew, without circumcision. The Senate refused to interfere in a matter belonging specifically to the Jewish Community. Rabbi Trier then addressed himself to the leading rabbis of Europe for an expression of opinion about the Reform Society and the significance of circumcision. The responses from twenty-eight rabbis, printed in the *Rabbinische Gutachtung über die Beschneidung*, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Society and its Declaration.

This agitation in German Jewry roused Zunz to express his dissent from the new course of events in Reform. He resurrected a sermon on Tefillin, which he had preached twenty years earlier, in 1822, and published it in I. Busch's *Jahrbuch für Israeliten* II, 1843/4.²³ In it he extolled the ceremonial laws of Judaism. Holy ceremonies, he stresses, have the power to lift man to spiritual heights, to direct them to moral ends, and to save them from sin. The performance of holy rites further awakens a sense of brotherhood in fellow-worshippers. Symbolic action is not something purely external. It exerts a hallowing influence of high moral and spiritual significance. "Our moral power surely is not so steadfast that we require no example to encourage our action, our virtue not so true that we can dispense with exhortation

²² Letter to Zunz, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, V, 181.

²³ Included in *G. S.*, II, 172-76.

Samuel Hirsch considered circumcision an indispensable testimony to the Jew's loyalty, the omission of circumcision being tantamount to the father's apostasy or his hostility to Judaism (*Rabbinische Gutachtung über die Beschneidung*, 1844, pp. 54-55). In his *Religionsphilosophie* he defended the ceremonies of Judaism: Tefillin, Mezuzah, Zizith, etc., as "symbolic tokens of the consecration of the individual, the home, and the whole household of Israel, to the cause of religion." However, he subsequently changed his position. K. Kohler, "Samuel Hirsch — A Historical Study," *A Living Faith*, pp. 234; 239.

to religious duties, with instructions to improve ourselves in public worship. As sinful humans we all too often cast off those guides which, unbeknown to ourselves, penetrate into our lives, urging us on to observe commandments and duties, those rites which teach obedience to all who are willing."²⁴

In a special essay on *Circumcision*, Zunz dealt not only with the question raised by Rabbi Trier, but with the various issues presented by the Reform Society and other radicals. He surveys the classification of the commandments in Jewish philosophic thought down to Mendelssohn, and stresses the general regard that was accorded to the ceremonial laws because of their distinctive Jewish character. Though not rationally explicable, they were preserved on account of their connection with the sufferings and the hopes of the Jewish people. However, a change has taken place in modern times. In the striving to free men from their slavery to the spiritless letter of the Law, as from civic disabilities, the love for our past has been pushed into the background. For the sake of the Jews, Judaism is forgotten, the eternal for the sake of the temporal. Or there is the attempt to find the purely human — a quality identified with the Divine — outside of the limits of the specifically Jewish. The ceremonial law is disintegrated by contemporary rationalism, into single ceremonies, and the word "ceremony" is linked with something hollow, superfluous, and burdensome. Political setbacks and self-interest have turned many a Jew against his religion; and sheer concern for his material well-being has impelled him against his uncomfortable Jewish faith.

This situation is reflected in Jewish practice and literature. Religious textbooks relegate the ceremonial observances — other than the Sabbath, which is part of the Decalogue — to an appendix. Some textbooks even seek to impress the children with the duty of disregarding all ceremonies. And the Talmud, the great foundation which unites us with the Scripture, the youth is taught to consider neither holy nor authoritative. It is not accounted a national work and not a fit medium of instruction. The use made of a portion of it, is equivalent to the use of the Church Fathers; and we should not forget that it was produced under circumstances different from ours. There are the rational or moral laws which obtain also among other peoples, and which are but slightly distinctive of Judaism. In contrast to them are the specifically Jewish ceremonies, isolated and despised and bound up with Jewish history. The latter are attacked at present, as they were in the past, by opponents within and without Jewry; and they

²⁴ G. S., II, 172-76.

are divided into transitory and permanent, i. e., into untenable, which must fall away, and tolerable, which may remain.

"Must not, then," Zunz asks, "the negation of Judaism first attack the symbols of the covenant?" However, he adds, circumcision like the Sabbath, is an institution, not a ceremony. Not the act of circumcision, which may be designated a ceremony, but being circumcised from the eighth day of one's life, constitutes the core of the commandment. All other ceremonial procedures occur frequently in life; a single omission or transgression is not decisive, and can be made up and corrected. "This is not the case with circumcision. From the moment of its neglect, it constitutes a continuous transgression. As sign of the unity and eternal duration of Israel, a visible act of the transmission and inheritance of the divine law, its omission is decisive for the coming generation. The son who remains uncircumcised on the ground of principle, will hardly remain in Judaism for principle's sake. Together with the denial of the Talmud and the Messiah, i. e., with the surrender of the past and the future, the abrogation of circumcision cuts in two, the life of Judaism. Suicide is not Reform."

Zunz took occasion to criticize as unworthy of the name Reform, the proposal of Samuel Holdheim, to go back to the Bible and to renounce the total spiritual activity from the days of the Second Temple to the present.²⁵ As the laws are in part political and in part religious, only the latter must remain. With the goddess of history, which this reformer places above the God of Abraham, Jewish symbols no longer find favor.

As to the issue at hand — during the existence of the Jewish State, a Jew was not allowed wantonly to neglect circumcision, or illegally to remain uncircumcised. The State and the jurisdiction of its courts are no more, but the Jewish Community persists [Zunz employs the term *Kirche*], which cannot remain indifferent toward those of its members who dissolve their membership by their *de facto* opposition to circumcision. It is difficult to say what the Community should do in such a case today. Inasmuch as such cases have not occurred heretofore, the German State has not legislated as to whether or not an uncircumcised Jew is to be considered part of the Jewish Community. However, Zunz thinks that the German State would not object to the Community's treating a Jew who, despite warnings, refuses to circumcise his son, as one who has withdrawn from it, nor oppose the Community's ceasing to associate him with the functions and privileges in which the members of the Community participate. It has been

²⁵ "Unsere Gegenwart," in W. Freund's *Zur Judenfrage*, Breslau, 1844, pp. 165 ff. D. Philipson, *Reform Movement*, ch. IX, n. 8.

maintained that only he has removed himself from the covenant of God with Israel, who has denied the unity of God and turned to idolatry, and that when this is not the case, he is regarded as an Israelite even if he diverges from the belief of the Synagogue, regarding the authority of the Talmud and the present validity of the ceremonial law, and transgresses some commandments. The Talmudic ban against deniers of the divine source of tradition, it is argued, is mere hyperbole. The Talmud itself does not lack free expressions concerning the meaning and duration of the ceremonial law and of dogma. No one must be excommunicated for his ideas. However, such tolerance, Zunz insists, cannot be extended to the reformers who seek to annul circumcision, for the same rabbi who takes a free position regarding the Talmud and the law, regards men who acted thus as "separated from the Synagogue, in that they completely severed their connection with the divine law, abandoned all revelation, frivolously broke away, and are no longer adherents of Judaism."²⁶

Indeed, if everything anti-Jewish that one desires, be allowed the Jew (seeing that idolatry, in the old sense, no longer exists in civilized Europe), and he, nonetheless, remains a member of the Jewish Community, then the character of the Community is either nothing at all, i. e., lacking all positive content, history, and concrete form, or it is without bounds, i. e., a universally recognized ideal of the religious life. Since both concepts are notoriously false, there must be a boundary line which one cannot transgress, without being excluded from the Community. This line of demarcation cannot consist of entertaining opinions with which Orthodoxy disagrees, nor of transgressions of the literal sense of the Torah. Whoever, for example, disregards much that is contained in the Gemara, or considers certain customs as dangerous, or disregards the fasts or the dietary laws, may be a bad Jew or even a bad person; but only God and his own conscience can judge him for his sins, not the religious community, which he has not offended. It must not judge him and must not punish him. To exclude him from the Community would be a sin.

Even such a free individual is still bound to the Jewish Community with moral and historical bonds. Whoever severs these bonds, thereby breaks himself away. The divergent opinions about the Talmud, the Messiah, circumcision, may appeal to the freedom of conscience; but the union against the Talmud, the Messiah, circumcision, is a conspiracy which negates the religious community. We leave the individual who violates the ceremonial laws, to the judgment of his

²⁶ *Rabbinische Gutachtung über die Beschneidung*, Breslau, 1842, pp. 192 ff., 196; 216-19.

conscience, for no one can boast of fulfilling all the laws. Sinners may repent; and weakness in one detail may be compensated by strength in another. But a society formed for the purpose of opposing Scripture, tradition, and the Messianic belief, which strives for apostasy, and whose members, beginning with the newborn boy, abolish that distinctive religious act which turns the convert into a Jew — such a society has, by word and deed, abjured the religious community, and cannot at the same time, demand recognition from it. All consequences of such sectarian withdrawal, these people must lay to their own action.

Inasmuch as we have no government of our own, we cannot act beyond removing these opponents from the Jewish Community, and do not have the right to interfere with their civil rights. We who have suffered so much from religious persecution, must not become persecutors of those who differ from us, nor, at a time of struggle between light and darkness, by our action suggest ecclesiastical penalties and heresy trials. Only the regular courts have the judicial right to decide whether these renegades may be disqualified as witnesses, but not we. We must not lock the doors of the Synagogue, which are open to all, against transgressors who have not ceased to be Jews. Our pain does not give us the right to inflict pain upon others. Our anger deprives us of the right to pronounce sentence. The sage (Mendelssohn) admonishes us: "Keep firm in the religion of your fathers, remain undismayed in the position which was assigned to you by Providence, and endure all things," even mockery and apostasy. When some are impelled to strive for worldly goods, to traffic with the Eternal, we must, all the more, hold fast to our Judaism, and sacrifice not a single law for the attainment of civic equality. This equality is not man's ultimate goal; moreover, we shall attain it without betrayal. Why, then, the rush, the painful flight? When we shall remain honorable as men, guard and love our faith and our antiquity, the straying of the few will pass us by without effect.

In response to a letter from his friend and admirer, Abraham Geiger, exploring the meaning of his reversal of position, Zunz reacted sharply and angrily: "A rabbinic hierarchy, I detest; a religious reform of vapid content (*milchdingen Paragraphen*), I despise; an assault on defenseless Judaism, I leave to those who find pleasure therein. The criterion of the *religious*, can be only the *religious* — that which, in the stream of living tradition, is generally accepted and esteemed. Only highly cultivated spirits (Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, Mendelssohn) are permitted to build on such a foundation. We must reform ourselves, not the religion. We have to attack existing abuses both external and

internal, not the inherited sanctities. The cry against the Talmud, in itself, constitutes the position of apostates.

"You see," Zunz continued, "I agree with neither Holdheim nor the two Sterns;²⁷ perhaps also not with you. Already six years ago, we wrangled orally about a united or fractured Israel. That the trends of the time have sharpened this difference and placed it in the foreground, is due to neither one of us. One may deplore my stand, but whoever suspects my motives is himself a scamp."²⁸

What impelled Zunz to break with Reform was his disgust with some of its leaders. Attached as he was to Jewish literature and tradition and devoted to the spirit of liberty, he was shocked by the anarchic trend in Reform, that threatened to negate the established standards of Judaism and that ignored its Halacha and its liturgy. Above all, he was disgusted with the "ecclesiastical ambitions" of some of the new leaders and was frightened by the lurking danger of the establishment of a "Rabbinical autocracy." The light-heartedness with which some of the rabbis denounced the Talmud and Rabbinism, and the renunciation, on the part of men like Holdheim, of the ceremonial law, of circumcision, and of the Sabbath, were repugnant to his sense of reverence. He struck back at the rabbis by classing them with soothsayers and quacks.²⁹ "His position," E. G. Hirsch writes, "was by no means Orthodox in the usual sense, however, even in regard to the ritual practices, which he called symbols,³⁰ denying them the validity of divine ordinances which the faithful are bound to observe without inquiry or meaning. His position accordingly approached that of the symbolists among the reformers who insisted that symbols had their function, provided their suggestive significance was spontaneously comprehensible."³¹ His break with Reform did not affect his theoretical position. To the last, he continued his scientific labors as Bible critic and as painstaking investigator of the liturgy, maintaining that the mind must remain unfettered in the search after truth.³²

²⁷ Dr. M. A. Stern of Göttingen, an exponent of the ideology of the Frankfort Society of Friends of Reform, and D. S. Stern, a rabbi of Berlin.

²⁸ Letter to Geiger, May 4, 1845, in Geiger's *Nachgelassene Schriften*, V, p. 184. Zunz characterizes his letter as "mir fast mit Gewalt abgedrungenen Erklärungen, die allerdings auf dem Papier kurz aber schneidend werden."

²⁹ *Jahrb. für jüdische Gesch.*, 1902, p. 171; Hirsch art. "Zunz," *J. E.*, XII, 702. Zunz viewed both S. R. Hirsch and Holdheim as harmful. "They are systematic fanatics without love for humanity." (Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 352.)

³⁰ See among other things, his meditation on tefillin, reprinted in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. II, 172-76.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 702-703.

³² The dichotomy between theory and practice could not recommend itself to

On February 25, 1850, Zunz withdrew from the Normal School on the ground that it consumed too much of his time. The Berlin Community voted him a modest stipend. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, his admirers established the *Zunz-Stiftung*, consisting of a fund for the maintenance of the Zunz couple and, subsequent to their death, to support research carried on along the lines of his work.

Zunz conceives of Judaism as a progressive revelation of religion. "All books, the Biblical not excepted, were originally the testimony rather than the source of religion. Religion created them, not they the religion."³³ The faith which produced the Bible also produced the later monuments of Judaism, the Talmud, the Midrash, the liturgy, the Synagogal poetry of the Middle Ages, etc. The Synagogue as the custodian of God's word in whatever language, is the sublimest expression of Israel's life. It is the living testimony to the truth that "God is the soul of Israel."³⁴

Zunz combined boundless ardor for Judaism with fervent love for his country. His devotion to the Messianic belief did not affect his striving for Jewish civic emancipation. A zealous democrat, he looked to the regeneration of Germany through the application of democratic principles to the unification of the nation. The high motive inspiring his plea for German unity has acquired an ironic sound in the light of subsequent developments. In 1861, pleading for a free form of government, guaranteed by a democratic constitution, he exclaimed: "Now then, Germans! Be resolved, all of you, to attain the same goal, and your will shall be a stormwind scattering, like chaff, whatever is old and rotten. In your struggle for a free country, you will have as allies, the army of mighty minds that have suffered for right and liberty in the past. Now you are split up into tribes and clans, held together only by the bond of language and a classic literature. You will grow into a nation, if but all the brother-tribes will join us. Then Germany, strongly secure in the heart of Europe, will be able to put an end to the quailing before attacks from east and west, and cry a halt to war. The empire, some one has said, means peace. Verily, with Prussia at its head, the German empire means peace."³⁵

After breaking with Reform, Zunz did not free himself of its influence. As in *Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* he had expounded to the Orthodox, the rightful place of the sermon in Jewish life, so he now

bolder minds. It became Abraham Geiger's task to combine science with life, and to establish not merely the right to introduce single reforms, but the principle of Reform, as the dynamic of Judaism.

³³ *Ges. Schr.*, II, 237.

³⁴ Schechter, 110-12.

³⁵ *Ges. Schr.*, I, 316, cited in English translation by Karpeles, *Jewish Lit.*, p. 332.

set himself, in a series of weighty works, to demonstrate to the Reformers, the importance of Hebrew liturgy and Piyyut. What he had sketched in brief chapters in his *Vorträge*, he now developed in bulky volumes, and became, as Professor D. Kaufmann observed, "not alone the historian, but likewise the anatomist, the physiologist, and the chemist of the Piyyut."³⁶

Like the *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, so his other works were prompted by the desire to disclose the inner well-springs of Jewish religious culture. His *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845), on the Tosafists, etc., his *Synagogale Poesie* (1855), on the Piyyutim and Selihot, and the capstone of his labors, *Die Literaturgeschichte der Synagogen Poesie* (not published till 1865), and the *Ritus* on the various rituals (1859) — all aim to show the world "that Jews, even in the Middle Ages, had a science and a literature, certainly not inferior to, and perhaps even surpassing those of their neighbors; to demonstrate the truth that at no period did the spirit of Jewish poetry cease to put forth buds and blossoms, and to produce fruit among the sorrow-laden Hebrew race; and to prove that Jewish poetry has an enhanced value because it immortalizes the annals of Jewish history."³⁷

³⁶ *Jew. Chron.*, 1884, Aug. 29, p. 10.

³⁷ I. H. Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-73.

דמים "שהיה ר' מאיר אומר" מראה דמים משונים הם זה מזה. ואולם בתוספתא שם ט', ט'. נמצא רק: "שאר הראיות הכל לפי הדמים". "היה ר' מאיר אומר" דמים משונים זה מזה וכו' ³⁹.

ואל תשיבוני ממ"ש במכילתא משפטים פרשה ב': ר' מאיר. אומר אף מן הסחוס (חלק העליון של האוזן – הוא נרצע). שהיה ר' מאיר אומר אין כהן נרצע. ובספרי דברים ק"ב: אמר רבי אלעזר והלא יודן ברבי היה דורש שאין רוצעין אלא במילת (אליה רכה של האוזן), וחכמים אומרים אין כהן נרצע שמא נעשה בעל מום; אם במילת הוא נרצע היאך נעשה בעל מום? אלא מלמד שאין רוצעים אלא בגבוה שבאוזן (מן הסחוס).

משמע מהספרי שהחכמים רק אמרו אין כהן נרצע, ור' אלעזר הוא שהוכיח מדבריהם שאין רוצעים אלא מן הסחוס, ואם נזהה את דעת החכמים עם דעת ר' מאיר יצא "שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו'" במכילתא משמש מקור למה שנאמר לפני זה? ברם, בירושלמי קידושין א': ב', ג"ט, ע"ד מבואר להיפך: ר' מאיר אומר מן הסחוס היה נרצע, מיכן היה ר' מאיר אומר אין הכהן נרצע. הרי שדברי חכמים לחוד ודברי ר' מאיר לחוד. ובזה נבין מדוע הספרי שם מביא אחרי דברי חכמים גם את הברייתא שבמכילתא: "ר' מאיר אומר וכו'" ⁴⁰?

נמצא שגם במכילתא המובן של "שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו'" הוא כמו "והיה ר' מאיר אומר".

³⁹ וכן? הבאנו לעיל בהערה ו' שבכת"י קויפמן בכורות ב': ח' נמצא (במקום שהיה ר' יוסי אומר וכו') רק ר' יוסי אומר וכו'.

⁴⁰ ראה מ"ש רא"א פינקלשטיין בהערה 14 שם.

(שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'. לרוב היא נותנת טעם או מפרשת מה שנאמר לפני זה, ורק לעתים רחוקות מתחיל בה ענין בפני עצמו, אבל לא נושא חדש לגמרי. ובה היא שונה משי"ן אחרת הפותחת לפעמים נושא חדש לגמרי.³⁵

לסוג האחרון משתייכות כל אלו הדוגמאות של „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'” שהבאנו לעיל, שאי אפשר לפרשן כמתן טעם. במקומות הללו המובן של „שהיה ר' פלוני אומר וכו'” הוא כמו „וזה” (וזה היה ר' פלוני אומר וכו'). אמנם גם „היה ר' פלוני אומר” (הנזכר רק פעם אחת במשנה שבועות א': ד'). נשאר קשור בקשר רופף למה שנאמר לפני זה.³⁶ ודומה לו „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'”. המאמר השני תמיד מכיל הוספה, לדין הקודם, הנחוצה להבנתו.

וכן הוא דומה לו בצורתו. וכמו שהמשנה בשבועות אחרי שהזכירה כבר את דברי ר' שמעון: „שערי הרגלים מכפרין וכו'” חוזרת ומביאה: היה ר' שמעון אומר שערי ראשי חדשים . . . ושל רגלים וכו', בגלל המחלוקת – מהו שיקרבו זה בזה – שהובאה אה"כ.³⁷ ולא רצתה לערב אותם יחד, משום שלא היו יחד במקורות; כך למשל חזרת המשנה בגיטין ב': ב' להביא את „שהיה ר' שמעון אומר וכו'” בגלל ההוספה שנאר שטרות פסולים כשנכתבו ביום ונחתמו בלילה, ולא רצה לספח את ההוספה למאמר הראשון משום שלא מצא כך במקורות. בשתי המשניות ההוספות מפיצות אור על מובן הדין הקודם, בשבועות „שכולן באין לכפר על טמאת מקדש וקדשיו”; ובגיטין נמצאנו למדים מההוספה, שטעמו של ר' שמעון הוא לא מפני שאינו חושש לשטר המוקדם רק בשעות אחדות, שהרי בשאר שטרות פוסל, אלא מפני שאינו פוסל כלל גט מוקדם.³⁸

וכיצד בו בברייטא: בתוספתא תרומות ח': ט"ו – המאמר השני מוסיף, שר' אליעזר מתיר אף לכתחילה. בבבא מציעא ה': כ"ב – שאף מלוה בשטר בטל ואינו גובה בו לא את הקרן ולא את הריבית. בפרה י"ב: ד' – שאם הטביל מקצתו שיחזור ויטביל עד שיטבול את כולו. בבבלי יבמות ט', א' – שמוכת עץ לא נחשבה כבחולה ולא רק לענין טומאה. בירושלמי שקלים סוף פ"ג – שהשיירים הם קודש ומועלים בהם אף קודם ששלמו דמי הקופות, שמא יצטרכו וכו'. בכל אלו „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר” מתפרש כמו „וזה היה ר' פלוני אומר”.

וראיה ברורה לדברינו מהברייטא נדה ס"ה, ב': ושאר ראיות . . . הלך אחר מראה

ג'. – שכל היוצאים וכו' עפ"י התפארת ישראל שם; שם ו': י"א. – שאין מערבין לאדם אלא מדעתו עפ"י הראש י"ג (עין בתוס' יו"ט); הוריות ב': ב'. שאין בית דין חייבין. ראה מ"ש מלאכת שלמה בשם ר' יהוסף הלוי, והערות ר"ח אלבק למשנה זו. אהלות ה': ו'. שאין הכלים מצילים' עפ"י התוס' יו"ט שם בפירוש דברי הרמב"ם. אבל בפרה ה': ה' וידים א', ב'. – שאין מצילין' נעתק מכלים ח': ג' (תוס' יו"ט שם). על יסוד שתי משניות אלה משער ר' י. ג. אפשטיין במבוא לנוסח המשנה עמ' 658, שגם ביתר הדוגמאות ה.ש"ן נלקחה ממקור (טרופריכי) שבו היא שימשה כמלת היחס אלא שהועברה לכאן, ורבי כדרכו שמר על הלשון המקורית. לפי"ן אין לשי"ן מובן אחר מלבד מלת היחס, ודעתנו לא כן. השוה מ"ש מ"ר ר' שאול ליברמן בתוספתא כפשוטה עמ' 606 652.

³⁵ ראה ההערה הקודמת.

³⁶ אבל לא כן בתוספתא ואכמ"ל. השוה ג"כ תוספתא רפ"א דשבועות (היה ר"ש אומר) וירושלמי

שם א': ה', ל"ג. ע"ב (וכן היה ר"ש אומר').

³⁷ רש"י והרע"ב. יתכן ג"כ שבתחילה מזכירה את הדבר המוסכם בר"ש (שלרגלים מכפרין על שאין בו ידיעה בתחילה וסוף וכו') ואח"כ מביא את המחלוקת (אם שלרגלים מכפרין על הטהור שאכל את הטמא, ע"ש).

³⁸ אפילו אם הוא מוקדם לכמה ימים. התלמודים בבלי י"ח, א'; ירושלמי ב', ב': ב', מ"ד, ע"א מביאים מחלוקת ר"י ורשב"ל בזה. אבל בתוספתא יוצא מפורש: ור' שמעון אומר אפילו כתבו ביום וחתמו ביום שלאחריו כשר.

ברישא חולצת ובסיפא פטורה מן החליצה – ובכ"ז מקשר רבי שני דינים אלה במלה „וכן“.²⁹ מדוע? משום שבמקור, שממנו הוציא רבי את הסיפא, היה כתוב „וכן“. אלא שר' עקיבא – המחבר של המקור לסיפא – חולק על הרישא (שם ד': י"ב) וסובר שגם בחולץ ליבמתו היא פטורה מן החליצה, לפיכך שנה במשנתו „וכן“. רבי העתיק את „וכן“, למרות שאחרי שסתם את הרישא כחכמים החולקים על ר' עקיבא כבר לא מתאימה „וכן“, לא רצה איפוא לשנות את הלשון המקורית.

וכן להלן שם במשנה (ד': ו')³⁰: וכן כל שאר הנשים לא יתארו ולא ינשאו עד שיהיו להן שלשה חדשים, אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות, אחד גרושות ואחד אלמנות, אחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות. ר' יהודה אומר: הנשואות יתארו והארוסות ינשאו חוץ מן הארוסות שביהודה מפני שלבו גס בו. ר' יוסי אומר: כל הנשים יתארו חוץ מן האלמנה מפני האיבול.

מהו ההבדל בין „אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות“ ל„אחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות“?³¹ הנכון, שהמשנה הכניסה כאן שני מקורות שונים. במקור אחד היה כתוב: אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות, אחד גרושות ואחד אלמנות. ר' יוסי אומר כל הנשים יתארו חוץ מן האלמנה מפני האיבול. ובמקור השני: אחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות. ר' יהודה אומר הנשואות יתארו והארוסות ינשאו חוץ מן הארוסות שביהודה וכו'.

מקור אחד השתמש איפוא בביטוי בתולות ובעולות, והשני בנשואות וארוסות, ואין בין אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות לאחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות אלא הבדל הבטוי בלבד. ורבי העתיק את המקורות כמו שהם ולא חס מלהכפיל כדי שלא ישנה את לשונם המקורית.

מתוך גישה קפדנית זו כלפי מקורות נבעה הזהירות היתירה למסור את דברי התנא כפי שיצאו מפיו בלי נספחים, אף כי הנספחים הם תוצאות הכרחיות מדבריו. לכן מביא רבי לפעמים רק את הכלל³² אעפ"י שהוא מעונין בפרט ולמרות שאין הכלל אלא סיכום של הפרטים. מה שמצא מסר. אם במקור נמצא רק הכלל לא שינה אותו לפרט. וכן אם מצא שני מאמרים מקבילים לתנא אחד אעפ"י שנימוק אחד משותף לשניהם, לא צירף אותם יחד ולא עשה מאמר אחד (מפני שהמחבר עצמו לא עשה ככה), אלא הביאם זה אחר זה בנוסח: „וכן היה ר' פלוני אומר“.³³ ואף במקום שמאמר אחד השלים את השני, הן בנתינת טעמו או בהרחבת מובנו, לא חיבר אותם יחד ולא מסר אותם כמאמר אחד אלא – אם במקורות היו לחוד – כשני מאמרים. כגון זה וכיוצא בו השתמש בנוסח: „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר“. שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר“ הוא איפוא סימן, שרבי לקח את מאמרי התנא ממקורות שונים, ולכן מסר אותם כשני מאמרים אע"פ שמפאת הענין ראויים הם להיות מאמר אחד.

וכשם שבשאר המקומות השי"ן בראשית התיבה (אם היא לא מן השורש) באה לרוב כמלת היחס ורק לעיתים רחוקות כו"ו³⁴, כך הוא עם השי"ן של „שהיה ר' פלוני

²⁹ בבלי שם מ"א, א': מאי וכן? אימא אבל המגרש.

³⁰ מספרי פירושים בתלמוד (כת"י).

³¹ וכן שואל הבבלי שם מ"ב, ב'.

³² ראה הערה ²⁶.

³³ תרומות ב': ה'; בבא בתרא י': ז' (בכתי': „כיוצא בו אמר רשב"ג וכו'“, במקום „וכן היה אומר“) כלים ט': ח'. אבל התוספתא משתמשת בנוסח „וכן היה ר' פלוני אומר“ גם במקום שאין קשר בין שני המאמרים. ראה לדוגמא: ברכות ז': ו'; ראש השנה ב': ב'; יבמות ו': ו'; סנהדרין ג': ט'; נדה ו': ד', ועוד. השוה ג"כ בבבלי בבא בתרא צ"ג, ב'; נדה מ"ז, ב'. אבל עיין ברשב"א (ד"ה אלא לאו) וברשב"א (ד"ה הכי נמי) יבמות ק"ב, ב'.

³⁴ ביצה א': ב'. שאפר כירה מוכן היא עפ"י הרשב"ם בתוס' חולין פ"ח, ב'; עירובין ד':

set himself, in a series of weighty works, to demonstrate to the Reformers, the importance of Hebrew liturgy and Piyyut. What he had sketched in brief chapters in his *Vorträge*, he now developed in bulky volumes, and became, as Professor D. Kaufmann observed, "not alone the historian, but likewise the anatomist, the physiologist, and the chemist of the Piyyut."³⁶

Like the *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, so his other works were prompted by the desire to disclose the inner well-springs of Jewish religious culture. His *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur* (1845), on the Tosafists, etc., his *Synagogale Poesie* (1855), on the Piyyutim and Selihot, and the capstone of his labors, *Die Literaturgeschichte der Synagogen Poesie* (not published till 1865), and the *Ritus* on the various rituals (1859) — all aim to show the world "that Jews, even in the Middle Ages, had a science and a literature, certainly not inferior to, and perhaps even surpassing those of their neighbors; to demonstrate the truth that at no period did the spirit of Jewish poetry cease to put forth buds and blossoms, and to produce fruit among the sorrow-laden Hebrew race; and to prove that Jewish poetry has an enhanced value because it immortalizes the annals of Jewish history."³⁷

³⁶ *Jew. Chron.*, 1884, Aug. 29, p. 10.

³⁷ I. H. Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-73.

דמים "שהיה ר' מאיר אומר" מראה דמים משונים הם זה מזה. ואולם בתוספתא שם ט', ט'. נמצא רק: "שאר הראיות הכל לפי הדמים". "היה ר' מאיר אומר" דמים משונים זה מזה וכו' ³⁹.

ואל תשיבוני ממ"ש במכילתא משפטים פרשה ב': ר' מאיר. אומר אף מן הסחוס (חלק העליון של האוזן – הוא נרצע). שהיה ר' מאיר אומר אין כהן נרצע. ובספרי דברים קנ"ב: אמר רבי אלעזר והלא יודן ברבי היה דורש שאין רוצעין אלא במילת (אליה רכה של האוזן), וחכמים אומרים אין כהן נרצע שמא נעשה בעל מוס; אם במילת הוא נרצע היאך נעשה בעל מוס? אלא מלמד שאין רוצעים אלא בגבוה שבאוזן (מן הסחוס).

משמע מהספרי שהחכמים רק אמרו אין כהן נרצע, ור' אלעזר הוא שהוכיח מדבריהם שאין רוצעים אלא מן הסחוס, ואם נזהה את דעת החכמים עם דעת ר' מאיר יצא "שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו'" במכילתא משמש מקור למה שנאמר לפני זה? ברם, בירושלמי קידושין א': ב', נ"ט, ע"ד מבואר להיפך: ר' מאיר אומר מן הסחוס היה נרצע, מיכן היה ר' מאיר אומר אין כהן נרצע. הרי שדברי חכמים לחוד ודברי ר' מאיר לחוד. ובזה נבין מדוע הספרי שם מביא אחרי דברי חכמים גם את הברייתא שבמכילתא: "ר' מאיר אומר וכו'" ⁴⁰?

נמצא שגם במכילתא המובן של "שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו'" הוא כמו "והיה ר' מאיר אומר".

³⁹ וכן? הבאנו לעיל בהערה ו' שבכת"י קויפמן בכורות ב' ח' נמצא (במקום שהיה ר' יוסי אומר וכו') רק ר' יוסי אומר וכו'.

⁴⁰ ראה מ"ש רא"א פינקלשטיין בהערה 14 שם.

לסוג האחרון משתייכות כל אלו הדוגמאות של "שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'" שהבאנו לעיל, שאי אפשר לפרשן כמתן טעם. במקומות הללו המובן של "שהיה ר' פלוני אומר וכו'" הוא כמו "(ו)היה ר' פלוני אומר וכו'". אמנם גם "היה ר' פלוני אומר" (הנוכח רק פעם אחת במשנה שבועות א': ד'). נשאר קשור בקשר רופף למה שנאמר לפני זה.³⁶ ודומה לו "שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'". המאמר השני תמיד מכיל הוספה, לדין הקודם, הנחוצה להבנתו.

וכן הוא דומה לו בצורתו. וכמו שהמשה בשבועות אחרי שהוכירה כבר את דברי ר' שמעון: "שעירי הרגלים מכפרין וכו'" חזרת ומביאה: היה ר' שמעון אומר שעירי ראשי חדשים . . . ושל רגלים וכו', בגלל המחלוקת – מהו שיקרבו זה בזה – שהובאה אח"כ,³⁷ ולא רצתה לערב אותם יחד, משום שלא היו יחד במקורות; כך למשל חזרת המשנה בניטין ב': ב' להביא את, שהיה ר' שמעון אומר וכו'" בגלל ההוספה ששאר שטרות פסולים כשנכתבו ביום ונחתמו בלילה, ולא רצה לספח את ההוספה למאמר הראשון משום שלא מצא כך במקורות. בשתי המשניות ההוספות מפיצות אור על מובן הדין הקודם, בשבועות "שכולן באין לכפר על טמאת מקדש וקדשיו"; ובניטין נמצאנו למדים מההוספה, שטעמו של ר' שמעון הוא לא מפני שאינו חושש לשטר המוקדם רק בשעות אחדות, שהרי בשאר שטרות פוסל, אלא מפני שאינו פוסל כלל גט מוקדם.³⁸

וכיצד בו בברייתות: בתוספתא תרומות ח': ט"ו – המאמר השני מוסיף, שר' אליעזר מתיר אף לכתחילה. בבבא מציעא ה': כ"ב – שאף מלוה בשטר בטל ואינו גובה בו לא את הקרן ולא את הריבית. בפרה י"ב: ד' – שאם הטביל מקצתו שיחזור ויטביל עד שיטבול את כולו. בבבלי יבמות ט', א' – שמוכת עץ לא נחשבה כבתולה ולא רק לענין טומאה. בירושלמי שקלים סוף פ"ג – שהשיירים הם קודש ומועלים בהם אף קודם ששלמו דמי הקופות, שמא יצטרכו וכו'. בכל אלו, 'השדה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר" מתפרש כמו (ו)היה ר' פלוני אומר".

וראיה ברורה לדברינו מהברייא נדה ס"ה, ב': ושאר ראיות . . . הלך אחר מראה

ג'. שכל היוצאים וכו' ע"י התפארת ישראל שם; שם ז': יא. שאין מערבין לאדם אלא מדעתו
עפ"י הרא"ש י"ג (עין בתוס' יו"ט); הוריות ב': ב'. שאין בית דין חייבין. ראה מ"ש מלאכת שלמה
בשם ר' יהוסף הלוי, והערות ר"ח אלבק למשנה זו. אהלות ה': ו'. שאין הכלים מצילום עפ"י התוס'
יו"ט שם בפירוש דברי הרמב"ם. אבל בפרה ה': ה' וידם א', ב'. שאין מצילין נעתק מכלים ח': ג'
(תוס' יו"ט שם). על יסוד שתי משניות אלה מסעך ר' י. ג. אפשטיין במבוא לנוסח המשנה עמ' 653,
שנס ביתר הדוגמאות ה"ש. נלקחה ממקור (טורסרבי) שבו היא שמששה כמלת היחס אלא שהועברה
לאח, ורבי דרכו שמר על הלשון המקורית. לפ"י לשיני מובן אחר מלבד מלת היחס, ודעתנו
לכן. השוה מ"ש מיר' ר' שאול ליברמן בתוספתא כפשוטה עמ' 606 ו' 652.

35 ראה ההערה הקודמת.
36 אבל לא כן בתוספתא ואכמ"ל. השוה ג"כ תוספתא רפ"א דשבועות (היה ר"ש אומר) וירושלמי שם א': ה', ל"ג, ע"ב (וכן היה ר"ש אומר).

37 רש"י והרע"ב. יתכן כי שבתחילה מוכיחה את הדבר המוסכם ברש"י (שלהגלים מכפרין על שאין בו ידיעה בתחילה וסוף וכו') ואח"כ מביא את המחלוקת (אם שלהגלים מכפרין על הטהור שאכל את הטמא) ע"ש.

מביאם מחלות ר"י ורשב"ל בזה. אבל בחוספתא יוצא מפורש: ור' שמעון אומר אפילו כתבו ביום וחתמו ביום שלאחריו כשר.

ברישא חולצת ובסיפא פטורה מן החליצה – ובכ"ז מקשר רבי שני דינים אלה במלה „וכן“.²⁹ מדוע? משום שבמקור, שממנו הוציא רבי את הסיפא, היה כתוב „וכן“ אלא שר' עקיבא – המחבר של המקור לסיפא – חולק על הרישא (שם ד': י"ב) וסובר שגם בחולץ ליבמתו היא פטורה מן החליצה, לפיכך שנה במשנתו „וכן“ רבי העתיק את „וכן“, לא רצה איפוא לשנות את הלשון המקורית.

וכן להלן שם במשנה (ד': ר')³⁰: וכן כל שאר הנשים לא יתארסו ולא ינשאו עד שיהיו להן שלשה חדשים, אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות, אחד גרושות ואחד אלמנות, אחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות. ר' יהודה אומר: הנשואות יתארסו והארוסות ינשאו חוץ מן הארוסות שביהודה מפני שלבו גם בו. ר' יוסי אומר: כל הנשים יתארסו חוץ מן האלמנה מפני האיבול.

מהו ההבדל בין „אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות“ ל„אחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות“?³¹ הנכון, שהמשנה הכניסה כאן שני מקורות שונים. במקור אחד היה כתוב: אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות, אחד גרושות ואחד אלמנות. ר' יוסי אומר כל הנשים יתארסו חוץ מן האלמנה מפני האיבול. ובמקור השני: אחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות. ר' יהודה אומר הנשואות יתארסו והארוסות ינשאו חוץ מן הארוסות שביהודה וכן.

מקור אחד השתמש איפוא בביטוי בתולות ובעולות, והשני בנשואות וארוסות, ואין בין אחד בתולות ואחד בעולות לאחד נשואות ואחד ארוסות אלא הבדל הבטוי בלבד. ורבי העתיק את המקורות כמו שהם ולא חס מלהכפיל כדי שלא ישנה את לשונם המקורית.

מתוך גישה קפדנית זו כלפי מקורות נבעה הזהירות היתירה למסור את דברי התנא כפי שיצאו מפיו בלי נספחים, אף כי הנספחים הם תוצאות הכרחיות מדבריו. לכן מביא רבי לפעמים רק את הכלל³² אעפ"י שהוא מעוניין בפרט ולמרות שאין הכלל אלא סיכום של הפרטים. מה שמצא מסר. אם במקור נמצא רק הכלל לא שינה אותו לפרט. וכן אם מצא שני מאמרים מקבילים לתנא אחד אעפ"י שנימוק אחד משותף לשניהם, לא צירף אותם יחד ולא עשה מאמר אחד (מפני שהמחבר עצמו לא עשה ככה), אלא הביאם זה אחר זה בנוסח: „וכן היה ר' פלוני אומר“.³³ ואף במקום שמאמר אחד השלים את השני, הן בנתינת טעמו או בהרחבת מובנו, לא חיבר אותם יחד ולא מסר אותם כמאמר אחד אלא – אם במקורות היו לחד – כשני מאמרים. כגון זה וכיוצא בו השתמש בנוסח: „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר“. שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר“ הוא איפוא סימן, שרבי לקח את מאמרי התנא ממקורות שונים, ולכן מסר אותם כשני מאמרים אע"פ שמפאת הענין ראויים הם להיות מאמר אחד.

וכשם שבשאר המקומות השי"ן בראשית התיבה (אם היא לא מן השורש) באה לרוב כמלת היחס ורק לעיתים רחוקות כו"י³⁴, כך הוא עם השי"ן של „שהיה ר' פלוני

²⁹ בבלי שם מ"א, א': מאי וכן? אימא אבל המגרש.

³⁰ מספרי פירושים בתלמוד (כת"י).

³¹ וכן שואל הבבלי שם מ"ב, ב'.

³² תרומות ב': ה'; בבא בתרא י': ו' (בכת"י): „כיוצא בו אמר רשב"ן וכו'“, במקום „וכן היה

אומר“ (כלים ט': ח'). אבל התוספתא משתמשת בנוסח „וכן היה ר' פלוני אומר“ גם במקום שאין קשר בין שני המאמרים. ראה לדוגמא: ברכות ז': ו'; ראש השנה ב': ב'; יבמות ו': ו'; מנהדרין ג': ט'; נדה ו': ד', ועוד. השו"ע ג"כ בבבלי בבא בתרא צ"ג, ב'; ונדה מ"ז, ב'. אבל עיין ברשב"א (ד"ה אלא לאו) ובריטב"א (ד"ה הכי נמי) יבמות ק"ב, ב'.

³⁴ ביצה א': ב'. שאפר כירה מוכן היא עפ"י הרשב"ם בתוס' חולין פ"ח, ב'; עירובין ד':

ולא תפתר בעיית „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר“ אף אם נניח שאין מובן אחיד לכולם, שאחרים באים לשם מתן טעם ואחרים לשם ציון מקור. הן אמת שהדוגמאות שהבאנו לעיל מתישבות על פי הנחה זו, אבל יש לכה"פ עוד שתי דוגמאות שאי אפשר לפרשן אפילו על פי אחת מהאפשרויות שהצענו. כך למשל: המשנה בגיטין ב': ב': נכתב . . . ביום ונחתם בלילה – פסול. ר' שמעון מכשיר שהיה ר' שמעון אומר כל הגיטין שנכתבו ביום ונחתמו בלילה פסולין חוץ מגיטי נשים.²⁴

וכן התוספתא פרה י"ב: ד': אוזב שהטביל מקצתו, ר' יהודה מכשיר. שר' יהודה אומר מטביל מקצתו וחוזר ומטביל עליו עד שיטביל את כולו.²⁵

אין כאן במאמר השני לא דין חדש (שיכול לשמש כמקור) ולא ביאור חדש (שיכול לשמש כנימוק) לדין הקודם, אלא השנות הענין גרידא בתוספת קצת. והנה כאן מתעוררת השאלה במלוא חריפותה: למה לו למסדר להפריד בין הדבקים ולחלק – מה שנראה כמאמר אחד – לשני חצאי מאמר? או אותה השאלה בצורה שונה קצת: איזו ידיעות היו חסרות לנו לולא הפסקת „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'“?

גם במקומות שאפשר לפרשם על פי אחת מן האפשרויות שהזכרנו נשאלת השאלה: למה דוקא במקומות הללו בחר המסדר בצורת „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'“ להביע מתן טעם או ציון מקור? הספרות התנאית מלאה דינים שמתן טעמים בצדם וברובם המכריע הטעמים מסומנים במלה „מפני“, „לפי“ וכו' או בשין גרידא – ולפעמים בלי כל סימן – ומדוע דוקא כאן ניסחו את הטעם בנוסח „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'“?

כן, מדוע דוקא כאן מצא המסדר לנחוך להזכיר ראשונה את דעת התנא ביחס לפרט ולהוסיף אח"כ שלא אמר כן בפירוש אלא שהיה אומר וכו' (כלל) ומשם הוסב לכאן – בעוד שבכמה מקרים אחרים די לו להביא רק את הכלל? לדוגמא, ברכות ו': ג': על החומץ ועל הנובלות ועל הגובאי אומר שהכל . . . ר' יהודה אומר כל שהוא מין קללה אין מברכין עליו. למה לא השתמש המסדר גם כאן בצורת שהיה אומר דהיינו: ר' יהודה אומר אין מברכין עליהם שהיה ר' יהודה אומר כל שהוא מין קללה אין מברכין עליו? ועוד ועוד.²⁶

ג

לדעתי אפשר למצוא את התשובה לשאלה הנ"ל במה שהעלו חוקרי המשנה החדשים^{26א} שהכלל שקבע התלמוד „משנה לא זוה ממקומה“²⁷ מוסב גם ללשון. רבי העתיק את המקורות כלשונם הם ללא שינוי, ולא תיקן גם כשהצירוף של מקורות שונים דרש ליטוש לשם התאמה. כך למשל מפרש ר' י. נ. אפשטיין²⁸ את המשנה ביבמות ד': ח': החולץ ליבמתו ונשא אחיו את אחותה ומת חולצת ולא מתיבמת. וכן המגרש את אשתו ונשא אחיו את אחותה ומת הרי זו פטורה מן החליצה ומן היבום.

²⁴ בכתי קויפמן: כל גיטים שניכתבו בו ביום ונחתמו בלילה פסולין וכו'.

²⁵ עפ"י הר"ש י"ב: ב'.

²⁶ השוה עוד פסחים ד': ה'; נדרים ו': ח'; כריתות ה': ח'; אהלות ג': ז'; ספרא חוקת ג': א', ועוד.

^{26א} ר' י. נ. אפשטיין במבואות לספרות התנאים עמ' 212 ור"ח אלבק במבוא למשנה עמ' 270–283.

²⁷ יבמות ל', א', ובסמך.

²⁸ שם עמ' 217–218.

מכרעת משום שיש לומר „שהיה ר' יהושע אומר וכו'” נשנה שם בגלל הסיום „מפני שחסרו לו שלשה לוגין” והוא הטעם של ר' יהושע, ראוי להזכיר כאן גם אלו שלהלן: (1) תוספתא תרומות ח': ט"ו: כלים שסכן שמן טמא וחזר וסכן שמן טהור. ר' אליעזר אומר אחר הראשון אני בא („השמן שניסך בתחילה יוצא ראשון מצד השני”¹⁶), שהיה ר' אליעזר (שר' אליעזר¹⁷) אומר יהא אדם סך את כליו שמן טמא וחזר וסכן שמן טהור כשהן מוציאין אין מוציאין אלא מן הראשון.

אין כאן בדברי „שהיה ר' אליעזר אומר וכו'” הסבר נוסף על הקודם. אדרבא, הטעם נמסר בשלימותו רק לפני זה – „אחר הראשון אני בא” – ולא נשנה כאן אלא ללמד (במשנה ערלה ב': י"ג ליתא) שר' אליעזר מתיר (ואף מיעץ) לכתחילה לסוך שמן טהור על שמן טמא.

ואם נקיים את שיטתו של ר"ח אלבק – „שהיה ר' פלוני וכו'” בא לשם ציון מקור – מוכרחים כאן להפוך את הסדר הרגיל, ולהסיק את הכלל („אחר הראשון אני בא”) מהפרט („שהן מוציאין אין מוציאין אלא מן הראשון”).

(2) תוספתא בבא מציעא ה': כ"ב: המלוה את חבירו בריבית (מלוה על פה) ובא לפני בית דין קונסין אותו ואינו גובה לא את הקרן ולא את הריבית; דברי ר' מאיר. שהיה ר' מאיר אומר שטר (מלוה בשטר) שיש בו ריבית קונסין אותו ואינו גובה לא את הקרן ולא את הריבית.

כאן יש לנו מקרה כשהטעם – קונסין אותו – נזכר עוד לפני שהיה וכו'. לא חוסר נימוק היא איפוא הסיבה שנזכר אח"כ „שהיה ר"מ אומר וכו'”.

אגב, כתבי היד¹⁸ גורסים מעין צורה זו גם במשנה זבחים ט': ג': ר' שמעון אומר לא תרד שהיה פסולה¹⁹ בקודש. שר' שמעון אומר כל שפסול²¹ בקודש הקודש מקבלו וכו'. לפי גירסה זו נזכר הטעם גם במשנה זו לפני שהיה וכו'.

(3) בבלי יבמות ס': א': אחותו . . . אנוסה ומפוחה דברי הכל אין מטמא לה ומוכת עץ אין מטמא לה, דברי ר' שמעון. שהיה ר' שמעון אומר ראויה לכהן גדול מטמא לה (הכהן הדיוט) ושאין ראויה לכ"ג אין מטמא לה.

טעמו של ר' שמעון לא נזכר כלל בברייתא²², הוא רק נוקט כלל. וראיה לזה, שהגמרא מצריכה שני פסוקים אחד לאסור לכה"ג לישא מוכת עץ (שם נ"ט: א'). והשני לאסור לכהן הדיוט לטמא לה. הרי, שאין באחד כדי נימוק לשני.

(4) ירושלמי שקלים ספ"ג: שלמו שלשתן (קופות) חזר ושוקל (ואינם לוקחים מן הלשכה). ר' מאיר אומר חזר לשירים (שבלשכה), שהיה ר' מאיר אומר מועלין בשיירים שמא יצטרכו להן בסוף (כששלמו שלשתן).²³

הברייתא מוסרת לנו כאן שתי מחלוקות (חזרין לשירים ומועלין). השנייה תלויה בטעמה בראשונה („שמא יצטרכו להן בסוף”), ודוקא היא ניתנה כאן בצורת „שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו'”. ואיך זה מתאים לפירוש המקובל „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר וכו'” בא לתת טעם למה שנאמר לפני זה?

16 פירוש הקצר בתוספתא הוצאת ליברמן עמ' 152.

17 ראה הערה 2.

18 ראה הערה 1.

19 כת" קויפמן – „שהיא” ובכת"י לו – „פסול”.

20 ראה הערה 6.

21 בכת" קויפמן – „פסולה”.

22 עיין היטב במס' שמחות הוצאת היר ה' עמ' 117.

23 בבלי קידושין נ"ד, א' (ע"ש בתוס') ובירושלמי לעיל ב': ב', מ"ו, ג' ולהלן ד': ב', מ"ח, א'

נזכר רק. שר' מאיר אומר מועלין בשיירים”.

להיות בשבת) ר' ישמעאל מחייב שתי חטאות ור' עקיבא פוטר, שר' ישמעאל אומר שבת היא (ויקרא כ"ג: ג') לחייב על שבת בפני עצמה, ויום הכיפורים הוא (שם כ"ז) לחייב על יום הכיפורים בפני עצמו. אין במאמר השני של ר' ישמעאל ניסוח כללי למאמרו, ולא הובא כאן אלא לנמק את טעמו של ר' ישמעאל – שבת היא (לחוד) ויוה"כ הוא (לחוד).

(3) תוספתא אהלות ג': ב': דם הקטן שיצא כולו ואין בו רביעית, ר' עקיבא אומר כל שהוא וחכמים אומרים רביעית (פחות מזה אינו מטמא) שר' עקיבא אומר: טומאה בדם וטומאה בעצמות, מה עצמות, אף על פי שאין בהן רובע (= רבע הקב), טמאין (אם הן רוב בנין או רוב מגין של מת, משנה שם ב': א') אף הדם, אף על פי שאין בו רביעית דם, טמא.

גם כאן שר' עקיבא אומר "אינו בא אלא לנמק את הדין המובא בשמו לעיל, דהיינו: מגיין לו לר"ע שאם יצא כל הדם של הקטן (וחכמים סוברים שאי אפשר לדעת) שמטמא אף בפחות מרביעית – מפני שמדמה דם לעצמות¹¹.

(4) עוד יותר בולטת היא הדוגמא שלהלן – תוספתא אהלות י': א': כוורת שבתוך הבית וכפישה על פיה ר' יהודה אומר מצלת וחכמים אומרים אינה מצלת, שר' יהודה אומר כשם שהנסר מציל כך כפישה מצלת¹².

המלה "כשם" מעידה למדי שאין למאמר השני מגמה אחרת מלבד הנמקה, כלומר מגיין לר' יהודה שהכפישה מצלת? – משום שמדמה כפישה לנסר, ובנסר הכל מודים שמציל¹³.

(5) מכילתא בשלח ד': פ' א': ¹⁴ מעשה בתלמיד אחד שעבר לפני ר' אליעזר וקצר בברכותיו . . . אמר להם לא קצר זה יותר ממשה, שנ' "אל נא רפא נא לה". שוב מעשה בתלמיד אחד שעבר לפני ר' אליעזר והיה מאריך בברכותיו . . . אמר להם לא האריך זה יותר ממשה, שנ' "ואתנפל לפני ה' את ארבעים היום וגו'", שהיה אומר יש שעה לקצר ויש שעה להאריך.

כאן הובאה עובדא לפני "שהיה אומר וכו'". כלום שייך לומר שהמקור לעובדא הוא מה שר' אליעזר היה אומר? אתמדה! ¹⁴

(6) ספרא תזריע פרק ה': ד': בשר חי החוזר טמא, אין שיער לבן החוזר טמא. ר' יהושע מטמא, שר' יהושע אומר שיער לבן סימן טומאה ומחיה סימן טומאה. מה מחיה חוזר טמא אף שיער לבן יחזור ויטמא. ¹⁵ ר' יהושע מבסס את דעתו על הבנין אב ממחיה, ולשם כך הובא בספרא, שר' יהושע אומר וכו'".

ב

מאידך גיסא אין לנו להסיק מהדוגמאות שהבאנו מסקנא הפוכה ולקבוע בהן מסמרות ולומר "שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר" בא תמיד לשם מתן טעם. ישנם כמה מקומות בספרות התנאית שנאמרו בהם "שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר" ואינם ניתנים לפירוש זה של הנמקה. מלבד המשנה במקואות שהזכרנו לעיל (היא אינה

11 ראה ר"ש ב': ב' ופירוש הרא"ש שם.

12 עיין בר"ש שם ט': ט'.

13 משנה אהלות ה': ו'.

14 עמ' 155 בהוצאת הארזוויטץ; השוה ג"כ מכילתא דרשב"י (הוצ' אפשטיין-מלמד) עמ' 103.

15 וכיוצא בו בתוספתא חולין ב': כ"ד.

16 בתוספתא נגעים ג': ט' נמצא רק: "אמר ר' יהושע וכו' " וגם מזה משמע שלא בא לשם מקור.

ר' יהושע לא נתינת טעם ולא חידוש כל שהוא לדבריו הקודמים מלבד הרחבת הדיון המסויים של מקוה שנחלק כדי לכלול כל המקומות שאין בהם ארבעים סאה, ואיך אפשר לומר כאן „שהיה ר' יהושע אומר וכו'“?

לר"ח אלבק⁸ יש כאן דעה אחרת. לדעתו בא תמיד הב'טוי „שהיה ר' פלוני אומר“ אחרי הפרט ולפני הכלל. מסדר המשנה רוצה על ידו להודיענו שר' פלוני לא הביע דעה ביחס לפרט, ושדעתו על הפרט נלקחה מהכלל שהיה כולל. הכלל הוא איפוא המקור לפרט.

כך לא השתתף ר' יהושע במקומות שם בויכוח על מקוה שנחלק. את דעתו נסח בצורה כללית: כל מקוה שאין בו ארבעים סאה וכו' ומסדר המשנה (ר' יוסי?) הוא שהסב את דבריו למקוה שנחלק וכו'. תהליך ממין זה מסומן במשנה בלשון: „שהיה ר' פלוני אומר וכו'“.

ואולם אין להכחיש שבכמה מקומות „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר“ בא רק לשם הנמקה ולא כמקור, למשל:

1) המשנה בובחים א': ד', שהובח נפסל בארבעה דברים: בשחיטה ובקיבול ובהילוך ובזריקה. ר' שמעון מכשיר בהילוך, שהיה ר' שמעון אומר: אי אפשר שלא בשחיטה ושלא בקבלה ושלא בזריקה, אבל אפשר שלא בהילוך – שוחט בצד המזבח וזורק.

ברור שאין בדברי ר' שמעון „אי אפשר וכו'“ כדי להוכיח שמתיר בהילוך שלא לשמה. גם החולקים עליו (ר' מאיר ור' אלעזר) מודים, שאם שחט בצד המזבח שיכול לזרוק שם. המחלוקת היא כשלא שחט בצד המזבח: ר' שמעון סובר שאין הובח נפסל על ידי הילוך יען שאפשר היה למנועו, ור' מאיר סובר במצב שבו הוא נתון כעת כבר אי אפשר להימנע מהילוך. ור' אלעזר עושה מעין פשרה: אם נשחט בצד המזבח וקיבלו דמו רחוק ממנו – כשר, אבל אם נשחט רחוק מן המזבח – אז הילוך שלא לשמה פוסל.

כאן מוכרחים לומר „שהיה ר' שמעון אומר וכו'“ בא רק לשם נתינת טעם. וכן הוא בתוספתא שם א': ה': הילוך שהיה ר' מאיר פוסל בו, מהו? אמרתי לו: מכשירו אני (ר' שמעון). מאיזה טעם? אמרתי לו: לפי שאי אפשר לעבודה בלא שחיטה וכו'. וכן יוצא מפורש בספרא צו פרשה ח': ה': ור' שמעון אומר אין מחשבה בהילוך שאי אפשר לעבודה וכו'.

גם המשניות בעדיות ז': ה', ז': העיד: . . . שר' אליעזר אומר (חולק) וכו'; ובידים ד': א'. נמנו וגמרו: . . . שר' עקיבא אומר (חולק) וכו', אינן מתפרשות יפה אלא אם כן נאמר, שהש"י „באה לברר את הצורך בקביעת הלכה“; עיין שם.

2) תוספתא כריתות ב': טז: ¹⁰ עשה מלאכה בחצי היום יום הכיפורים שחל

⁸ בהערותיו למשנה שם ובספרו *Untersuchungen . . . der Mishna* עמ' 11 בהערה. וכבר רמז על זה רמא"ש במכילתא משפטים פ' ב', ה', ל"ג.

⁹ בבבלי ביצה ג': ב' ובמקבילות הובאה מחלוקת ר' יוחנן וריש לקיש בדעת ר' מאיר: „כל שדרכו לימנות שנינו או את שדרכו לימנות“ אם חבילי תלתן הם „את שדרכו לימנות“; ולר' יוחנן הכרח לומר כן מאחר שהמשנה מביאה ראיה מר' מאיר הסובר, לדעתו, „את שדרכו לימנות וכו'“ שחבילי תלתן אינם בטילים – איך יתאים ריש לקיש את שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו' לחבילי תלתן המזכירים לעיל? (עיין בתי יבמות פ"א, ב', ד"ה רשב"ל ובשיטה מקובצת כאן), ודווקא לומר שר' יוחנן ורשב"ל מחולקים בחבילי תלתן מה הם „את שדרכו“ או „כל שדרכו לימנות“. לפי הנאמר בפנים מתיישב יפה שהרי „שהיה ר' מאיר אומר וכו'“ נלקח ממקור אחר ולא נאמר ביחס לחבילי תלתן. עיין היטב בתוספות סנהדרין נ"ח, א' סד"ה נשא.

¹⁰ הוצאת צוקרמנדל.

„שהיה ר' פלוני אומר” במשנה ובברייתא

מאת דוד הלבני (ויס)

מדי פעם בפעם אנו נתקלים במשנה¹ בתוספתא² בברייתות שבשני התלמודים³ ובמדרשי הלכה⁴ בנוסח שלהלן: המסדר אחרי שהביא דעת יחיד בשם אומרו חזר ומביא דברי בעל המאמר בצורת „שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר”. הפסקת דברי התנא לשם הזכרת שמו פעם שנייה, לשם מה? הלא לשונו (ובשמו הוא) הובאה מיד לפני זה – מה לו איפוא למסדר להזכיר שוב שעדיין התנא הוא המדבר?

וכן יש להבין מהו תפקידה של השי"ן ב„שהיה ר' פלוני (שר' פלוני) אומר”? האם תפקיד אחד לה בכל אלו המקומות?

לפי הפירוש המקובל בא „שהיה ר' פלוני אומר” לתת טעם למה שנאמר לפני זה⁵. השי"ן של שהיה היא איפוא – כמו בשאר המקומות – מלת היחס, הבאה כאן לנמק את הדין שזוכר לעיל.

ואולם את המשנה במקואות ג': א' קשה לפרש על פי זה⁶, ח"ל: ר' יוסי אומר . . . ומקוה שאין בו ארבעים סאה ונפלו לו שלשה לוגין ונחלק לשניהם – פסול, ור' יהושע מכשיר, שהיה ר' יהושע? אומר: כל מקוה שאין בו ארבעים סאה ונפלו לו שלשה לוגין, וחסר אפילו קרטוב, כשר מפני שחסרו לו שלשה לוגין. אין במובאה השניה של

1 ערלה ג': ז'; גיטין ב': ב'; זבחים א': ד' (בכתי' קופמן, פרמה, לו ובמשנה שבבבלי – „שהיה אומר”), ח': י"א (בכתי' הנ"ל – „שר' עקיבא וכו'”), ט': ב' (בכתי' קויפמן ולו – „שר' שמעון וכו'”), י"ד: ב' (בכתי' לו ובמשנה שבבבלי – „שר' שמעון וכו'”), בכורות ב': ח' (בכתי' לו – „שר' יוסי וכו'”) וכן הוא במשנה שבבבלי. אבל בנמרא שם י"ח, א' וב' ולהלן ל"ה, ב' „שהיה ר' יוסי וכו'”; ואולם כתי' קויפמן גורס רק ר' יוסי אומר; ננעים י"ב: ג' (בכתי' הנ"ל – „שר' ישמעאל וכו'”). וכן הוא בספרא מצורע ה': א'; מקואות ג': א' (בכתי' הנ"ל – „שר' יהושע וכו'”); נדה ט': ג' (בכתי' קויפמן ולו – „שר' נחמיה וכו'”), ט': ה' (בכתי' קויפמן ולו – „שר' מאיר וכו'”).

2 הוצאת צוקרמנדל תרומות ח': ט"ו (בדפוס ובכתי' וינה – „שר' אליעזר”); עירובין ח': ז' (וכן הוא בבבלי צ"א, ב', אבל בדפוס ובכתי' וינה – „וכן היה ר"ש אומר וכו'”); סוכה ג': ט"ז; (בדפוס – „אלא שר' יהודה וכו'”), כתובות ג': ח'; נדרים ז': ו'. (בדפוס ובכתי' וינה – „שר' ישמעאל וכו'”); בבא מציעא א': ה', ח': כ"ב; שבועות א': ח'; מנחות י"א: א'; חולין ב': כ"ד; בכורות ב': י'; כריתות ב': ט"ז; כלים כבא קמא ה': ט', כלים כבא מציעא ג': י"ג; אהלות ג': ב', ו': א', י"ג; ט'; טהרות ז': א', ו' (ראה ר"ש ו': ב'); פרה י"ב: ד', נדה ב': ו'.

3 בבלי ברכות ס"א, ב'; שבת נ"ט, ב' (מתוספתא כלים כבא מציעא ג', י"ג); ע"ה, א'; עירובין צ"א, ב' (מתוספתא שם ח': ז'); יבמות כ"ה, ב'; ס', א'; פ"ג, ב'; (בכורות מ"ב, א'); כתובות כ"ט, א' (מתוספתא שם ס"ג); סוטה כ"ה, ב'; קידושין נ"ה, א'; בבא מציעא י"ג, ב' (מתוספתא שם א': ה'); סנהדרין נ"ז, ב'; (יבמות צ"ח, ב'); זבחים י"ט, ב' (ליתא בכתי' מינכן); מנחות צ"ב, ב'; נדה ס"ה, ב'; ירושלמי ספ"ג דשקלים.

4 מכילתא בשלח מסכת ד' פ' א' (עמ' 155 בהוצאת הארואויטץ); משפטים פ' ב' (עמ' 253 הוצ' הארואויטץ); (מכילתא דרשב"י עמ' 16–17 – הוצאת אפשטיין/מלמד); ספרא שמיני פרשה ט': ד'; תוריע ה': ד'; (בתוספתא ננעים ג': ט' – „אמר ר' יהושע”); ספרי מטות פ' קנ"ג (עמ' 204 בהוצאת הארואויטץ); ספרי זוטא עמ' 257 (ספרי דברים פ' קכ"ב).

5 השווה מלאכת שלמה ערלה ג': ז'.

6 ראה מלאכת שלמה והערותיו של ר"ח אלבק למשנה זו.

7 עיין הערה 1.

זה קשור בפלחן הפוריות). המנעות משולשת זו מראה על התקדשות הנזיר לעבודת יהוה. מכאן אנו לומדים, כי בעבודת יהוה כל טכס חצוני, הלקוח מעבודת המת, או הדומה לה נחשב לטומאה מסוכנת ואינה יכלה להשאיר אפילו בפרברי האמונה הרשמית. משכיות הזכרתם של מנהג־אבל (המשותפים לישראל ולסביבתה האלילית) במשך כל דורות התנ"ך עלינו להסיק, כי אסורים אלה מבטאים את לבטי התגבשותה של הדת הישראלית הרשמית. באמונה העממית והיוס־יומית עבודת המת – יחד עם עבודת האבות – השתלבה יפה באמונת יהוה. בעולמה העתיק של הקשת הפוריה אפשר היה לעבד בעת ובעונה אחת לאלים רבים ולהתכסות בצל כלם, כי אין זו שאלה של אמונה בתורות מנוגדות זו־לזו. אמונה אחת והשקפת עולם משותפת לכדו את העובדים אלים שונים. לשם דוגמא: מצרי, שעבד את אוסיריס לא ראה את עצמו נבדל בדתו מהעובד את רע, פתח, או אמון ואף לא מהנכרי, שבארצ־מולדתו עבד את אלהיהוא ובבקרו במצרים השתחוה לאלהיה; כמו שהמצרי לא ימיר את דתו אם מחוץ למצרים יעבד לאלהי המקום.⁸ במקום משכנו והתגלותו של אל מסוים כלם סגרו לו, כמו שפעולות, או השפעות מסוימות התייחסו גם בשני המרחק לאל מיוחד. העולם העל־אנושי מחולק מבחינת תכנו ומהותו לרשויות אלהיות מרובות ולכל מצב ולכל אתר אלהים משלו. גם בישראל העתיקה – עד נסוח עקרונותיה של הדת הרשמית בתאריך בלתי נודע – לא נחשב הזבח במצבים מסוימים למת ל"עבודה זרה" ואף לא היה משום מזוג (סוֹ'נקרטיזם) אם יחסו ליהוה השפעה ושלטון גם בשאול וגם על המתים. בהתנסח הדת הרשמית אמונת יהוה ירשה גם מקומה של האמונה במת ובקשה לבטלה ע"י הפיכתה לטומאה וע"י אסורים. דבר תדיר בקורות הדתות, כי בהפגש שתי אמונות, החדשה מורידה את האלים המיושנים אף לדרגת מזיקים ושדים והופכת את קדושתם העתיקה לטומאה. הוא הדין כלפי האמונה המקראית ויש לראות בה מעין רפורמא דתית מתוכננת מראש: להנתק מהירושה הדתית של כנען. האמונה הרשמית דוקא בפנית ערף זו לאמונה העממית הקודמת ראתה את יחודה ואת יעודה. בדת הרשמית (המיוצגת בספרי התנ"ך) מורגשת המנעות מכוונת מראש מהזכר את האמונה בחיי העולם שמעבר לחינר־אנו; הרצון להסיח את הדעת ממנה. מנסיון זה לעבר על הנושא בשתיקה אנו עלולים להתרשם, כאילו אין האמונה המקראית מכירה את התורות הנפוצות בימיה על המות בכלל ועל־כן אינה נלחמת בהן. לכאורה, הדת הישראלית נבדלת מכל שאר הדתות, כי אין בה תורה מנוסחת על השארות הנפש, או על תחית המתים (שהובלטו החל מסוף ימי בית שני) ואין בה אף אידיאולוגיה עוינת לרעיונות אלה. אבל חוקי התורה מחזקים את ההנחה, כי גבוש ונסוח עקרונותיה של הדת לא היו בלי "מלחמת תרבות" ובה הפיכת המת לטומאה ועבודתו לאסורה מצינת רק שלב אחד.

⁸ עד היום הזה בהודו עובדי אלים שונים (בעלי תכונות שונות) רואים את עצמם מאוחדים באמונה משותפת לכולם – ומכאן סובלנותם הרבה כלפי צורותיה המנוגדות של עבודת האלים ואף לגבי אמונות זרות: וסובלנות זו מקור כוחה הבולע והמכלול של דתם, העומד בפני כבושים זרים.

ל"ב) מפרש לנו בטוים כגון: "שכב עם אבותיו" (מליצה של ס' מלכים ושל דברי הימים), "נאסף אל עמו" (בעקר בספרי התורה), או "יאסף ויקבר" (ירמ' ח': ב'; כ"ה: ל"ג), כי האמינו בהתאחדות המת עם אבותיו אישם בעולם הלא-נודע. מִבְּחַ המתים (הוא "לחם אני" בדב' כ"ז: י"ד; הושע ט': ד'; ירמ' ט"ז: ז'-ח', ובמיוחד בתרגום היע'; "לחם אנשים" ביחז' כ"ד: י"ז; וראה גם שם"ב ג': ל"ה; תה' ק"ו: כ"ח. ראה עוד ויק' י"ז: ז'; דב' ל"ב: י"ז; מל"ב כ"ג: ח'; ישע' י"ג: כ"א; ל"ד: י"ז; תה' ק"ו: כ"ח, ל"ז; דה"ב י"א: ט"ו); מסתבר, כי המשתתפים בקרבן – קרובי המת – מבקשים לשמר על הקשר עמו גם לאחר מותו. כנראה, קשר זה מקוים: הרי אפשר לדרש במת ולרובבו על-אדות העתיד. את הקשר הזה מבקשת הדת המקראית לנתק ע"י אסורים. המת עצמו וכל הקשור בו יחשבו לטומאה: כל הבא אל אהל, בו משהוא מת, נטמא למשך שבוע ימים: אפילו הכלים הפתוחים שבאהל אסורים לנגיעה למשך אותה תקופה. ואם משהוא בשדה (במקרה, בלי כונה, או בעל-כרח) נוגע בחלל חרב, או במת, או בעצם אדם, או בקבר: טמא הוא שבעת ימים ורק ע"י טכס פלחני יטהר, או נכרת מעמו (במ' י"ט: י"ד-כ"ב). חומרתו הרבה של החק תלמדנו על החשיבות, המיוחסת בדת המקראית להתרחקות מכל קשר אפשרי עם המת ועבודתו. ברם, מכלול התמונה על המצב שלאחר המות (המתבטא בעבודת המת ובעבודת האבות) רחק מהיות שלם ובאפן אינדוקטיבי לא נוכל לשפרו. מועיל היה לנו להכיר את טכסי ההשכבה, אך הכתוב ממעט דברים במיוחד בתאורים אלה. מלבד זבח המתים (המזכר כבר לעיל והוא, כנראה, טכס מחזורי ולא חד-פעמי) ידוע לנו, שבשעת הקבורה היו מספידים ומקוננים, מבכים את המת בקול נשא. בתפקידים אלה מזכרות בדרך כלל נשים, שהתמחו בהם (הדוגמא היפה ביותר: ירמ' ט': ט"ז-כ"א). למלכים היו עורכים גם שרפה גדולה (ראה: ירמ' ל"ד: ה'; דה"ב ט"ז: י"ד; כ"א: י"ט)⁵ ואולי אף חונטים את גופתו (עיין בדה"ב ט"ז: י"ד, השוה ליחז' מ"ג: ז'-ט'). בפרושם של שאר מנהגי האבל (הם ביסודם טרום-ישראליים ומוכרים אצל עמי הקשת הפוריה מאות רבות בשנים לפני הולד ישראל) אין דעה אחידה בין האנתרופולוגים: אם הם מביעים השתתפות בגורל המת, או שמא הם נובעים מן הפחד מפניו? אם כן ואם כן: במנהגים אלה נשקפת אמונה שלמה ולהם חשיבות מכרעת נועדה. אילכך אותם המנהגים, שיש בהם משום קבע, או סמן חצוני ממושך נאסרו בדת הישראלית הרשמית (כמו שהדרישה במת אסורה): התגודדות (עיין במיוחד במל"א י"ח, כ"ח; ושוב בירמ' ה': ז') והקדחה בין העינים (דב' י"ד: א'; וראה שם את ההנמקה בפס' א'-ב'; בנגוד לויק' י"ג: מ'-מ"א; והשוה, לשם דוגמא: ירמ' ט"ז: ו'; מיכה א': ט"ז), בין פאת הראש והזקן (ויק' י"ט: כ"ז; השוה נגדו, לשם משל: ישע' ט"ז: ב'; ירמ' מ"א: ה'; מ"ח: ל"ז; יחז' כ"ד: י"ז), או שריטת שרטת בבשר (ויק' י"ט: כ"ח). הבלטה נוספת יש לראות בחדוש האסורים לגבי ידיים של משרתי יהוה, כמו הלהן (ראה: ויק' י': ו'; כ"א: ה') והנזיר (במ' ו': ו'-ז'), האסורים בכלל לבא במגע עם מת – אפילו אם הוא אביהם, או אמם. על הנזיר להמנע – מלבד טומאת המת – גם מגזית שער ראשו (וגם זה ממנהגי האבל: ראה שוב ויק' י': ו'; השוה ליחז' ה': א'; כ"ד: י"ז, כ"ג)⁶ ובחומרה רבה משתית יין (וזה, כנראה, "כוס תנחומים", בה משקים בבית המשתה, או בבית המרוחז; שבירמ' ט"ז: ז'-ח'; וכבר ראינו, כי משחה

⁵ שרפה זו אולי החטאת, המזכרת בתורת המת: במ' י"ט: י"ז; השוה נגדו ויק' י': ו'.

⁶ לדעת W. R. Smith: *The Religion of the Semites*³ (1956), p. 483. זה הוא הנזיר.

⁷ מִרְזַח = יללה, צעקה, להביע הן שמחה והן יגון.

את עמי כנען מפני ישראל (שם, פס' י"ב).³ בכנען היו ידועות שטות רבות של הדרישה במת (והן מפורטות בחק הנדון) והן התקיימו במשך תקופה ממושכת אף בישראל. מבין צורות אלו שתי טכניקות החכרו בתנ"ך בסתמיות, ככלליות וכמיצגות גם את האחרות: דבוב המת ע"י אב וידעני (ושטות אלו לא נחשבו לנבואה, כמו קסם, או כשף), שהתמידו קיומן בעקשנות למרות המאמצים לבערן. לפי טבע הדברים, כי באב ובידעני יכלו להשתמש איש כאשה (ויק' כ': כ"ז), בכל זאת בספורי התנ"ך מוזכרת רק, "בעלת האב" ואין אף פעם "בעל האב" (כמו שקסם אינו מוזכר בקשר לנשים, פרט ליחז' יג). לפי עדות האנתרופולוגיה נחוש עתיד זה – necromanteia – נחשב לפעולת הנשים. נראה לי, כי בעבודת המת (בה רקומה גם הדרישה במת) מקום מכובד במיוחד לנשים. בכל הדתות של המזרח הקרוב העתיק המות אינו, אלא תחנה אחת במחזוריות הטבע והמות אף מנוצח ע"י האהבה; אלת האהבה חוקה מאלהי השאול. עובדיה המסורים ביותר של אלת האהבה והפוריות היו בכל מקום הנשים, המחקות את מעשיה. עבודת המת משוחרת בפלחן הטבע – המת והקסם לתחיה – ובטכסי הפוריות, בהם לנשים נועדה הפעילות העקרית. ההגיון מחיבנו לחפש בדרך דידוקטיבית את עקבות המיתוס הזה גם בישראל. בהסתמך על כמ' כ"ה: א'–ב'; הושע ד': י"א, י"ח (השוה לעמוס ב': ז'–ח') אפילו נוכל להצביע על המשחה, בו השתתפו הזונות, ומתוך ירמ' ה': ז'; ברוך, כי בבית הזונה מתגוררים: מקימים את טכסי האבל. ברם, המיתוס עצמו ואלת הפוריות נמחקו מהתנ"ך. אם הדרישה במת נאסרה ע"י חוקי התורה: נבין בקלות, כי גם האמונה במת ואפן הדרישה בו יחסרו מספורי התנ"ך וצנזור קפדן הוציא כל תאור מעין זה (כגון: שמ"א כ"ח) וכל רמו עליו. אולם השמטה זו לא תחכן כמושלמת. פה ושם בשולי הספורים ובפרברי התוכחות הנביאיות התאבנו רמזים, שבצרופם יחד יאפשרו לנו שחזור בקוים כלליים וגדולים – אף כי בלי פרוט ודיוק; הנסתר יהיה מרוב בתמונה מן הגלוי.

מהמליצות של ספרי התנ"ך אנו יודעים, כי בשעת המות הנפש יוצאת מהגוף (כגון: בר' ל"ה: י"ח; מל"א י"ז: כ"א, השוה לשמ"א א' כ"ה: כ"ט; ובטוים כמו "להיות נפש" ו"לרצח נפש" והיוצאים בהם; ובתקופה מאוחרת "רוח"; כגון: קהל' ג': כ"א; י"ב: ז'), אך אין אנו יודעים כל-מאומה: לאן? מה קורה אותה שם? מה מצבה? היש לה עוד קשר כל-שהוא עם הגויה? או עם קרוביה? מעצם העובדה של קבורה ושמירת הגויה אנו לומדים, כי גם לנויה נועדה עוד חשיבות (קללה איומה לא לבא לקבורה, אלא להשאיר דמן על-פני השדה, מאכל לעוף השמים ולבהמת הארץ. כל מי שיכל דואג עוד בימי חייו למקום קבורה, מתאים לרמת מעלתו החברתית). הקברה במקרים רבים לדורות של אבות וצאצאיהם, הוא קבר משפחתי (כגון: מערת מכפלה, בר' כ"ג: י"ט; כ"ה: ט'; ל"ה: כ"ט; מ"ז: כ"ט–ל; מ"ט: ל'–ל"ג; נ': י"ג) ולפעמים בבית המשפחה (שמ"א כ"ה: א'; כ"ח: ג'), או בגבול הנחלה של המשפחה (יהוש' כ"ד: ל'; שופ' ב': ט'). רצון זה לשמר על רציפות הדורות (ראה גם שופ' ט"ז: ל"א, שמ"ב ב':

³ הדרישה במת ידועה לעמי כנען זמן רב לפני הולד ישראל, על-כן בפי המחקק היא יכולה להיות תועבת הנויים ההם (פס' ט'). גם הורשת ארצם — כמו הארכת הימים על האדמה, או הקאת האדמה את תושביה — בטוי אופיני לאידיוולוגיה של ספר דברים. מפאת אידיוולוגיה זו מוזכרת גם העברת הבנים והבנות באש יחד עם הדרישה במת, כי היא-היא החטא הדתי העקרי בעיניה (לכן היא מוזכרת גם במל"א י"ז: כ"א; ו' דה"ב ל"ג: ו', הבנוים עליו), כמו שבספר ויקרא האכילה על הדם (י"ט: כ"ו) נחשבת לשיא החטאים.

⁴ בצורתו העתיקה ביותר אולי גל, כי השורש קבר"ר בכל הלשונות השמיות מראה על עשית גל.

אמונות אלו נוסחו והודגשו באפנים שונים בדתות של המזרח הקרוב העתיק עוד זמן רב לפני הולד ישראל ונשארו בתקפן בלא שנוי מהותי מכריע במשך אלפי שנים רצופות, עליכן גם עם ישראל בא במגע אתו והגיב עליהן איך-שהוא. ברם, בספורי התנ"ך תורה זו, על מה שלאחר המות, חסרה. מבחינה זו האמונה המקראית אינה אמונה בכלל, כי אינה עונה על שאלה כלל-אנשיות, שהעסיקה את כל הדורות. לעומת זאת הדרישה במת מוכרת בתנ"ך הרבה פעמים ומכאן אנו נמצאים למדים, כי האמונה בעולם שלאחר המות היתה נפוצה ומקוימת גם בישראל הקדומה. חשופה של אמונה זו וברור טיבה הם תפקיד מרכזי בחשיבותו בחקירת התגבשותה של האמונה המקראית. על האמונה בעולם הבלתי-ניסיוני שלאחר המות בתקופת התנ"ך ישנן שתי עדויות בידינו:

א) קברים עתיקים – הם הממצא הארכיאולוגי – היכלים לכלל אף עדות כתובה (כגון: איומים וקללות על שורדי הקבר, פן יפריעו את מנוחת המת בקברו), או ציורים, המדגימים את האמונה, את מנהגיה ואת טכסיה (ובגלל אפים השמרני והבלתי-משתנה של המנהגים אפילו לאחר התרוקנות האמונה: הארכיאולוגיה מתאבנת בפולקלור ונשארת גם עד ימינאנו) וגם חפצי שמוש, תשמישי מותרות, זבחים ומתנות (לפעמים אף קרבן אדם, או בעל-חיים), שנקברו יחד עם המת; כמו גם אפן קבורת המת והשכבתו בתבה, או בכד, מקום הקבורה וצורתה – כל אלה עוזרים לנו להבין את האמונות הקשורות במות. ברם, הארכיאולוגיה איננה. כל התגלויות (כולל גם את החמר האפיגרפי החשוב ביותר, כתב-ידאוגריט) מאשרות בהוכחות נוספות מה שהיה ידוע לנו גם בלעדיהם מפסוקי התנ"ך: מנהגים אלה נעוצים בתקופה קדומה ועברו בירושה גם אל עם ישראל.

ב) דברי התנ"ך – והם אמנם חרצ-דדיים בעדותם על הנושא – עד היום מצטיינים באפים המיוחד. מספרותם של עמי הקשת הפוריה בעת העתיקה מוכרת לנו תורתם על המות, אך אין אנו קוראים בה על הדרישה במת; חסרה אותה חולית הקשר, שתעמידה במקומה הנכון במו'תוס ותבהיר לנו את ה"סטטוס" של המת ברעיונות הפוריות והתחיה, המאפשר לו לדעת את העתיד. לעומתה בספרות התנכ"ית מוכרת הרבה פעמים הדרישה במת, אך אין כל הוראה על המות ועל האמונות, הנוגעות בו. מתכונה מיוחדת זו, יוצא, כי בדינוי אתבסס בעקר על פסוקי התנ"ך. אין ביכלתי בעבורה זו לפרשם באור חדש, לא להשלים את התמונה המצטירת מהם ועל אחת כמה וכמה לא אוכל להציע מקום לאמונה במת בין השלבים השונים של תולדות האמונה הישראלית. לכל היותר אוכל להציג את הנושא ממבט חדש, בו הפרטים הבודדים רומזים גם על קשריהם ההדדיים ובהצטרפתם יחד מגלים דבר-מה הן מהאמונה הטרומי-ישראלית, שהדת הרשמית היתה צריכה לגבש את עמדתה כלפיה, והן מאפן התגובה עליה. אסוף הפרטים המפורשים נראה לי כשטח עבודה יעילה ובצרוף הנתונים השונים אודקק לדידוקציה, אבל אני תקווה, כי גם בדרך זו לא יושמד אף שמץ מהאפי התנכ"י ולא אוסיף עליו מחזות לבי דבר שאין בו.

הדרישה במת נאסרה בישראל כמה פעמים (ויק' י"ט: ל"א; כ': ו', כ"ז) בלי כל הנמקה. האידאולוגיה, עליה מבוסס האסור והמאפשרת את הבנתו, חסרה. רק בדב' י"ח: ט'–כ"ב (חוקת הנבואה) נאמר לנו, כי היא תעבה בעיני יהוה ובעטיה הוא מוריש

¹ אפילו S. H. Hooke: *Myth and Ritual*, (1933), שנסה לתוות שלבים להשוואה שטחית של דתות המזרח הקרוב הקדום לא הקציב כל מקום לדרישה במת ב"דפוס האמונה".

² תועבה – אולי terminus technicus. ראה מצבת תבנית אצל J. B. Pritchard: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, (1955), p. 505/a.

את הנשים לחדר; על-כן יתכן, שבבטוי זה נכללו אף נביאות, אך הם נביאים ולא קדשים. יש אמנם המשערים,³⁰ כי תוך כדי ביאה מגיעים עדיכדי כשוף ונבואה, אך זהו הקדש עם הנביא ועם המכשף מבוסס על חסר הבנה מספיקה בלשון העברית של התנ"ך ואין הכננים האלה מתחלפים זה בזה.

נביאות ישראליות מוזכרות בספרי התנ"ך גם מתקופה מאוחרת באפן יחסי בתפקידים לאומיים, שחשיבותם רבה בהרבה מקצור הספור עליהן. חלדה צריכה להיות מפורסמת אם יאשיהו, מכל שאר נביאי הדור, דוקא אליה פונה לברר את אמיתות הספר שנמצא (מל"ב כ"ב: י"ב-כ'); נעדיה צריכה להיות מכובדת אם בה דרשו בקשר למלוכה (נח' ו': ז'-י"ד), אך שתיהן הוזכרו רק כלאחר היד. יש להניח, שבימיהן היו ידועות ברבים גם נבואותיהן וגם ספורים נבואיים עליהן, – אפילו אם הם לא השתמרו בעדנו. סבה אפשרית לכך, כי בינתיים התגבשו תביעותיהם של סופרי התנ"ך מאת הנביא על אדות התנהגותו ומעשיו ולפיהן הנביאות כבר אינן ראויות להזכרה. דורות מאוחרים יכלים להסתייג מהן (כמו "הנביא הישראלי" התרחק מהקוסם), אך קיומן עובדא היסטורית (כמו שגם הקוסמים מוסיפים להתקיים למרות התנגדותם של הנוקטים באמצעים אחרים משלהם).

לסכום: בהוצרות הנבואה הישראלית פעלו סוגים שונים של מגידי עתיד ויש להזהר משנהזהזירות מקביעת שלבים בדבריימיה. התופעה לא רק ססגונית ומורכבת, כי אם גם מעצם טבעה שמרנית ובלתי-משתנת. לא זו בלבד, שמנחשי עתיד מטיפוסים שונים הופיעו בעת ובעונה אחת זה בצד זה, כי אם נוסף על זה, תכונות מסוימות ופעולות אחדות משותפות לכלם. התביעות של סופרי התנ"ך המאוחרים (והם צנזורים חמורים!) לא נגעו בהן ולא בקשו לשנותן. לכן אפילו נביא מהסוג הישראלי יש מן הארכאי ביותר, מן הטרומי-ישראלי. תהליך התגבשותה של דמות "הנביא הישראלי" היה לא רק אטי וממושך, כי אם גם מאוחר מדי: לאחר גלות ירושלים בבבלה הנבואה מתנונת, כחה נחלש ולבסוף נאלמת, מפנה את מקומה לאפוקלו'פטיקא.

נספח: הדרישה אל המת

הדרישה במת אינה אלא חלק מאמונה שלמה ומושלמת. אמונה זו בדרגות-התפתחות שונות משותפת לכל האנושות בכל עת ובכל מקום. גבושה האפניי ביותר מוכר לנו ממצרים העתיקה כחזרת השאול, משפט המתים שם ע"י אלהי השאול; מתן שכר וענש על-פי תורת מוסר במשפט זה; השארות ה"רוח" גם לאחר המות ובמצב זה תהא היא עצמה לאל, ליודע סוד העתיד. הדרישה במת אינה מראה אך ורק על סקרנות לדעת את צפונות העתיד, אלא גם על הרצון להכיר את תכניות האל – למען יוכלו להתאים את עצמם אליהן ולהתנהג לפיהן, להשתלב בהן ולחיות לפי הדרכתה הישירה של האלהות; היא היא הרגש הדתי היסודי. מבלי להכנס לשאלת ההתחלה של הדת בכללותה, או לבקרת על דברי טיילור על אדות האנימיזם ותפקיד האמונה בנפש ובהשארותה בנבוש הדת: עובדא, שאין אף דת, הרואה במות סוף לכל ואין לה תורה איזושהיא על גורלם הנוסף של המתים בעולם, שמעבר לנסיון הישיר.

³⁰ כנון: J. G. Frazer: *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*² (1907) p. 14.

מהנצחון. בימי המלוכה, כנראה, מנהג זה לאטילאט נעלם (גם אצל הערבים בשנוי המשטר שלאחר התארגנות האסלאם לא נותר למשוררות אלו מקום) ואין אנו קוראים על נביאות כדוגמת מרים ודבורה.

סוג שירה אחר היה נשאר במשך כל הדורות של תקופת התנ"ך בידי הנשים: שיר קינה (ראה, לשם דוגמא: ירמ' ט': ט"ז-כ"א). בקבורת המתים תפקיד מיוחד למקוננות ובעבודת המתים, בפלחן להם שוב מקום מיוחד לזונות. בין הנשים נמצאות כאלו, המסוגלות להעלות את רוח המת ולרובבה: הן בעלות האוב, הדורשות במת – וזו היא הנבואה הנשית ביותר אצל כל העמים והיא התקימה גם בישראל מימי ההתנחלות בכנען ועד ימי יחזקאל – למרות התנגדותם של "נביאי ישראל". שיטות הדרישה במת נאסרו בישראל כעבודה זרה. לכן אין לדעת: כלום רבוב המת היה בקצב פיוטי מלווה גנון? אין אף פסוק בתנ"ך, שאפשר להסיק מתוכו; שהנביאות העממיות אינן נבאות ביהוה – אפילו אם בימיהן עבודת מלכת השמים היתה כבר נפוצה מאד. בכל העולם העתיק היתה אלה, פטרונות הנשים, אליה פנו בעקר נשים. בדת הישראלית הרשמית אין אלה וליהוה אין כל תכונה, שתקרב אותו אל לב הנשים; אין להן גישה אליו. אמונת יהוה היחיד לא הותירה מקום ואפשרות לנשים למצא את דרכן אל אלהי הסערה, אלהי המלחמה של עמן, אפילו אם הוא נהפך ברבות הימים לאלהי הפוריות. דוקא הנשים הרגישו צורך ליחס ליהוה בתזוג. (באמונה העממית אולי היתה חתונה קדושה וחג הכלולות השנתי, כמו בכל הסביבה בעידן ההוא). אילכך הנשים היו בעבר "עובדי אלילים" והן בקשו להן דרך אל מלכת השמים. מותר לנו להניח, כי היתה מנהיגה לנשים אלו בכל הדורות – קטור לצבא השמים אינו אך ורק עבודת המשפחה בבית. גם לעבודה זו טכסים צבוריים ובהם פעילות וממלאות תפקידים מרכזיים (ראה: ירמ' מ"ד). אבל כל זה נחקק ונשמט מהתנ"ך ואף "נביאה" למלכת השמים לא הוזכרה, כמו שאף נביאה לא הואשמה בנבואה באלה. ברם, הנחה בין חוקרי התנ"ך, שפעילי עבודת האלה הם הקדשים והקדשות. סברה נפוצה,²⁸ כי "קדש" פרושו מקודש לאל (ובמיוחד לאל הפוריות), העובד אותו בהתמסרות גופנית. דעה זו נתמכה בעקר ע"י אנתרופולוגים, המביאים השוואה חצונית מתופעות דומות אצל עמים רבים ושונים, רחוקים וזמ". יתכן והשוואה לשאמאנים (בו אחד הקווים האפניניים ביותר הוא חלופ המינים והומוסקסואלים) חושפת פרטים רבים וחשובים, אך היא קדם כל מעמידתנו בפני בעיה מתודית: האם מקורות חצוניים בלבד יספיקו לעדות? כי מעוט דברי התנ"ך על הקדשים אינו מאפשר לנו להכיר את מהות התופעה.

לפי ספר מלכים ב', פרק כ"ג, פסוק ז' הקדשים והקדשות – לפחות בתקופה מסוימת – היו מוכרים היטב גם במקדש ירושלים. בכל זאת נביאי הדור, המבקרים בחריפות את התפיסה הדתית של ימיהם, אינם מזכירים את התופעה בכלל! אם עדותו של ספר מלכים על הנושא נכונה: אין להבין, כיצד אפשרי, שהנביאים לא הגיבו על המנהג הזה? אולי בספר יחזקאל (ח': י"ד) יש רמז לדבר, אבל הנשים המבכות את תמוז במקדש ירושלים אינן נקראות בשם קדשות. האבל על מות תמוז היה מנהג נפוץ – כמו קטור הנשים למלכת השמים, המוזכר הרבה פעמים בספר ירמיהו – אך אינו יכל להעיד על השתיכות (אף לא השתיכות ארעית, לתקופת קצובה מראש) אל הקדשים.²⁹ גם לאשרה היו נביאים (וביניהם אולי גם נביאות; בלשון העברית אפשר לא להזכיר בחבורה דרמינית

²⁸ פעם ראשונה אצל: S. R. Driver: *Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC, 1895).

p. 264.

²⁹ בעיה מרכזית של כל ספר יחזקאל: האם הוא מכיר היטב, מיריעות מהימנות את מקדש ירושלים?

כלום ראה יחזקאל במו עיניו את הנעשה שם?

האסורים האלה יחד מסמלים שלב מסוים בהתנבשות האמונה המקראית-הרשמית. רבוי האסורים מוכיח, מה רבה החשיבות, שיחסו לנתוקה של עבודת המת ושכסיה, שדוקא בהבדלה זו ראו את יחודה של האמונה הישראלית! (ראה: הנספח).

פרוד זה בין עבודת המת העתיקה ועבודת יהוה היה אטי, לכן גם ממושך מאד. לפי טבע העניינים, שמנהיגים חזוניים (כגון: מנהגי אבל) התאבנו ללא כל שנוי הצורה גם בפרברי האמונה החדשה, משותפים לישראל כמו לעמים השכנים במשך כל הדורות. מפולמוסם של נביאי הספר עם שאר נביאי הדור אנו מסיקים, כי הקוסם הוסיף להתקיים במשך מאות בשנים על-יד „הנביא הישראלי“, למרות האסור של חק הנבואה: כמתחרה לו, כנבואה עממית, שהדת הרשמית כבר התרחקה משיטותיה. בנבואה עצמה חל פלוג: נביאים מסוג קדום עודם מדובכים את רוח המת וממנה משינים את ידיעותיהם על העתיד להתחרש – ונביאים מהסוג החדש אינם קוסמים יותר והם יהיו ל„נביא ישראלי“. פלוג זה בין הקוסם ו„הנביא הישראלי“ מציין פרק חדש לא רק בקורות הנבואה, אלא בתולדות האמונה הישראלית בכלל: התרחקות מכוונת מראש מעבודת המת. בתהליך התנבשותה של הדת הרשמית אסור הדרישה במת (דב' י"ח) אינו תופעה עצמאית, אלא חלק בלתי נפרד מנתוק עבודת יהוה מעבודת המת. אפילו הנביאים הסופרים בפולמוסם עם הקוסמים מודים, כי גם יריביהם נבאים ביהוה ולא באלהות אחרת. יוצא בזה: תהליך התנבשותה של האמונה הישראלית והריב שבין הנביאים (המתלווה אל נסוח עקרונותיה של האמונה) אינם נוגעים למהות האלהית, אלא לשיב עבודתה! גם הקוסמים נבאים ביהוה, אך הם משתמשים בטכניקה אחרת; לא מיהוה במישרים משינים את ידיעותיהם על העתיד, אלא באמצעות רוח המת. אך אין להסיק מזה, שהמת עצמו נהפך ליהוה (כמו שבמצרים של אותם הימים המת נהפך לאוסיריס) וגם יהוה לא נחשב לאלהי המתים.

טיפוס אחר, שונה הן מאיש אלהים והן מהקוסם, מכונה בלשון התנ"ך בשם „נביאה“ מבלי שהגדת העתיד שלה תשמר בעדנו. מרים, אחות משה ודבורה, אשת לפידות נקראות בכנוי „נביאה“, אף כי המסורת אינה יודעת אף נבואה אחת, הקשורה בשמן. לעומת זאת שמורה בעדנו שירת הנצחון מאת כל אחת מהן – ומסתבר, שבזכות זו הן מכוונות בתואר „נביאה“, – המראה על סוג מסוים של הנבואה.

בישראל העתיקה שירה ומחול היו תפקיד הנשים לימי שמחה – תהא זו בחג, החורר במחזוריות מדי שנה בשנה (שופ' כ"א: כ"א; ירמ' ל"א: ד', י"ג; ראה גם: שמ' ל"ב: י"ט; תה' ל': י"ב, קמ"ט: ג'; איכה ה': ט"ו), או במקרה חד-פעמי, כמו הנצחון על האויב (שמ' ט"ו: כ'–כ"א; שופ' י"א: ל"ד; שמ"א י"ח: ו', כ"א: י"ב, כ"ט: ח'). מנהיגת הנשים, משוררת, המביעה את סיבת השמחה בשיר חדש נקראת אולי בשם נביאה. נבואה ושירה קשורות זב"ז (ואולי אף זהות זב"ז) לא רק בישראל הקדומה, אלא לפי עדות האנתרופולוגיה אצל כל העמים. אנשים בעלי שאר רוח, המתוכים בין האלהות ובני תמותה, מביעים את חזיונותיהם בקצב, בשירה, בלוי נגינה. אותו מתוך, השאמאן, (מהסוג, המוכר במיוחד בסיביר) כשהאמונה בסולותיו העל-אנושיות נעלמה: נהפך למשורר נורד; כשיכלתו להנבא את העתיד להתרחש פנה: נשארת יכלתו לחרו' חרחים, דברי שירה.²⁶ גם הנביאות בישראל אינן משמיעות נבואה על תוצאות הקרב לפני צאת הצבא למלחמה: הן מלוות את הלוחמים,²⁷ או מקבלות את פני השבים

²⁶ לקשר בין הנבואה והשירה אצל כל השאמאנים הוקדש הספר של: N. K. Chadwick: *Poetry and Prophecy*² (1952).

²⁷ ראה: R. A. Nicholson: *A Literary History of the Arabs*² (1930) על אודות בנות פאוק.

את סוד העתיד מפי האוב, הקסם והבד; עליכן (ג) האמונה בהשגרת ה'רוח' לאחר המות היתה נפוצה גם בישראל ועליה מבוססת גם עבודת המת, שברבות הימים כבר לא התקשרה בדת הרשמית! חק הנבואה של דב' י"ח, אפוא, רק אחד מגבושיה של מלחמת האמונה הישראלית בהשפעת כנען ומכאן הגוון הפולמוסי והנימה האוטופיסטית שבו. אך חק זה חושף אשנב לעולם האמונות, שבספרי התנ"ך יש נגמה עקבית לטשטשן.

בשלב קדום של תולדות האמונה הישראלית המת נחשב לאלהים (שמ"א כ"ח: יג): יותר מאנשי, על-אנשי, אפילו אם הוא שומר על מראהו החצוני, כמו שהיה לפני מותו (שש, פס' י"ד). אחרי המות הוא תופס מקום חשוב בחיי קרוביו, השומרים על הקשר עמו ומנישים לו קרבן. את הדאגה הזו מבקשת האמונה המקראית להפך לטומאה. (תופעה רגילה בקורות האמונה בכלל, ששני קצוני הופך את הקדושה העתיקה לטומאה ואת האלים לשרים ולמזיקים). טומאת המת אסורה בכל חומרתה לכהן, המוקדש לשרות יהוה (ויק' כ"א: ה', י"א) ובצרון אסורים נוספים גם למזיר.²² מתוך חוקת הניזיר (במ' ו': א'-כ"א) אנו למדים, כי נזירות פרושה שמירה משולשת בפני טכסים, הקשורים בעבודת המת: המענות משתית יין ושכר, גמזית שער הראש ומטומאת המת — באותה חומרה, החלה על הכהן. (יוצא בזה, שמבחינת הקדושה הניזיר עולה אפילו על הכהן).²³ ללא צל של ספק נוכל לקבע, כי גם שתית היין והשכר קשורה בפלחן המת, עליכן יש להנזיר ממנה: בבית מרוח²⁴ מתגורדים (ירמ' ט"ז: ה'-ח') ומספידים בקול נשא (= מרזח) — כנראה — הנשים המקוננות והזונות²⁵ (ראה ירמ' ה': ז'; עיין גם עמ' ב': ז'-ח'). כל

²² בין חוקת הניזיר ובין הספורים באותם הספרים, המכונים ע"י המסורת בשם „נביאים ראשונים“ על הניזירים ההיסטוריים נגוד בולט רובץ. לפי החוקה תתכן גם נזירות ארעית (פס' ד'-ו', ח': יב-י"ג) הן לנשים והן לגברים; כאשר בספורים על שמשון ועל שמואל מוזכרת הקדשה ע"י ההורים עוד מלפני ההתעברות — שהחוקה אינה מכירה; מצד שני בכל ספרי התנ"ך אין רמז לנזירות ארעית. בספורים ה"ל כבר ההורים מתגוררים משתית יין ומהנאת פרי הגפן — ורק מזל! — והבן העתיד להולד נמנע רק מגמזית שער וטומאת המת אף אינה נרמזת. נראה לי, שהספור בעבודו המשנהיחורתי כבר הושש להוכיחה והחוק בספר במדבר שומר על אמונה קדומה בשלמותה — אפילו אם הוא צעיר לימים מהספורים.

²³ הקרחה בראש נאסרה יחד עם כל שאר סמניו החצוניים של האבל בויק' י"ט: כ"ז-כ"ח על כל ישראלי (ראה גם: דב' י"ד: א') — אף כי אסור זה, כנראה, לא קיים אף פעם. אין, אפוא, כל צורך לחזור על אסור זה מחדש בקשר לכהונים. לפנינו שני חוקים שונים, שהתנסחו באופן עצמאי ובלא קשר ביניהם, אך נאספו יחד ע"י עורך עניני בשני גבושי משפט שונים זמ"ו. חומרה נוספת, כנראה, שלכוון אסור להטמא במת אפילו ממקורביו ביותר.

²⁴ בית מרוח הוא בית המשתה (בו משקים כוס תנחומים) ובמובן זה חי הבטוי גם בעברית החדשה.

²⁵ השרש „ז" ה" בלשון התנ"ך מצין את עבודת האלים האחרים על כל צורותיה ואפילו את הרצון לפנות עורף ליהוה ולעזוב את דרכיו. מכאן, שהזונה אולי סתם אשה נכריה, העובדת לאלהות אחרת (ראה: יהו' ב': א'; ו': י"ז, כ"ב; שופ' י"א: א'; ט"ז: א'; מל"א ג': ט"ז, משלי כ"ג: כ"ז). אך עבודה זו כוללת כשוף (נחום ג': ד') ואולי גם זבח (במ' כ"ה: א'), שתית יין ותירוש (הו' ד': י"א, י"ח, השוה לעמ' ב': ז'-ח') ושירה (ישע' כ"ג: ט"ז-ט"ז) — וכל אלה הם חלקים מפלחן המת, או משכס הקבורה! לפי ירמ' הו': ז' בבית הזונה מתגורדים (השוה: דב' י"ד: א' לירמ' מ"א: ה', מ"ח, ל"ז) ובהסתמך על כל אלה נוכל להגדיר את טיב העבודה של הזונות: הן הנשים העובדות לאלת הפוריות (כמו בעלילת גילגמש הזונות מלוות את אשתר: לוח ו', שורה קס"ה-קס"ו; ראה עוד שם, לוח א', עמ' ג'-ד'; לוח ב', עמ' ב'-ג'); היא האלה, המקימה לתחיה את האוהבת הנצח: האוהבת כל אחת ומתמסרת לכל אחד. מות חזון בעולם המושגים בכל המזרח הקדמון קרובים מאוד ול"ז: הם שתי תחנות במחזוריות הטבע, המסתמלת בקורותיה של אלת הפוריות. חג התחיה הוא גם חג להזדווגות כללית. גם סופרי התנ"ך באופן עקבי מכנים את העבודה הלא-ישראלית, את החטא הפלחני דוקא בשם זונות: הרי גם זה עדות נוספת על האפקתה של האמונה הרשמית באמונה שקדמה לה; על רצונה להתרחק מעבודת המת!

כִּי־תִעֲבֹת יְהוָה כִּלְעֶשֶׂה אֱלֹה וּבִגְלַל הַתּוֹעֵבָת הָאֵלֶּה יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מוֹרִישׁ אוֹתָם
מִפְּנֵיךְ: (פס' י"ב)

תָּמִים תִּהְיֶה עִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ: ¹⁷ (פס' י"ג)

כִּי הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה יוֹרֵשׁ אוֹתָם אֶל־מַעֲנָנִים וְאֶל־קִסְמִים יִשְׁמְעוּ וְאַתָּה לֹא כֵן
נָתַן לָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ: (פס' י"ד)

נִבְיָא: ¹⁸ מִקְרָבךָ מֵאֲחִיךָ כִּמְנִי יָקִים לָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ תִּשְׁמְעוּן (פס' ט"ו)

הַקּוֹסֵם קִסְמִים, מַעֲוֹן, מִנְחָשׁ, מְכַשֵּׁף, חוֹבֵר חֵבֶר, הַשּׁוֹאֵל בְּאוֹב וּבִידְעָנִי – כָּל אֱלֹה הֵם שְׁמוֹת נִפְרָדִים – דּוֹרְשִׁים בְּמַת וְצוֹרֵה זֶה שֶׁל הַגִּדָּת עֵתִיד הִיתָה נִפְצָה וּמִפּוֹתַחַת בִּישְׂרָאֵל הַקְדוּמָה; – כְּמוֹ שֶׁהַשְּׁמוֹת הַמְרֻבִּים שֶׁל הָעוֹסְקִים בָּהּ יוֹכִיחוּ. הַדְרִישָׁה בְּמַת חֲכָמָתָם הַמְשׁוֹתֶפֶת שֶׁל עַמִּי הַקָּדֵם, אֲךָ חֵק זֶה מַצִּיין אוֹתָהּ כְּמַעֲשֶׂה כְנָעַן, תּוֹעֵבַת הָעַמִּים, שִׁישְׁבוּ בָּאָרֶץ לִפְנֵי בָּא הַשְּׁבָטִים הָעִבְרִיִּים. חֵק זֶה אוֹסֵר כָּל צוֹרֵת נַחוֹשׁ הָעֵתִיד כְּדֶרֶךְ הַכְנַעֲנִיִּים (הַקְשׁוּרָה בְּאֻמָּנָה בְּהַשְׂרָאוֹת הַ"רוּחַ" גַּם לֵאחֲרֵי הַמּוֹת בְּעוֹלָם, בּוֹ יִדְעֶת הָעֵתִיד אֵינָה סוּד וְאִפְשָׁר לְדוֹבְבָהּ) וּמַעֲמִיד מוֹלֵן אֶת "הַנְּבִיאִי הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי", כְּשׁוֹנָה מֵהֵן תְּכֵלֶת הַשָּׁנִי. בַּחֵק עֲצָמוּ אֵין כָּל מֵאוּמָה עַל זֶה, שֶׁמַּעֲבֵר לְמוֹת. אֵינוֹ מְכַחֲשׁוֹ וְאֵינוֹ נִלְחֵם בּוֹ, כְּמוֹ שֶׁאֵינוֹ מְזַכֵּר אוֹתוֹ. אֲךָ הוּא מִנְסָה לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת הַשְּׁנִתָּה שֶׁל יִדְעֶת הָעֵתִיד מִרְשׁוֹת עֵתִיקָה וְלֹא יִשְׂרָאֵלִית (הַדּוֹרְשִׁים אֶל הַמֵּת) לְרִשׁוֹת חֲדָשָׁה וּמִיּוֹחֶדֶת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (הַנְּבִיאִי). לְכָל עַמִּי הַקָּשֶׁת הַפּוֹרִיָּה מְשׁוֹתֶפֶת הָאֻמָּנָה, שֶׁהָאֱלֹהוֹת מִתְעַרְבֹת בְּחַיֵּי אָנָּשׁ, מוֹדִיעָה לוֹ אֶת רְצוֹנָהּ גַּם מִפִּי אָנָּשִׁים מוֹבְחָרִים, הַמְתוֹכִים בִּינָה וּבֵין בְּנִייתוֹתָה רְגִילִים. לָכֵן גַּם הַמַּחְזָק אֵינוֹ מְרַגֵּשׁ צָרָךְ – לִפְנֵי תוֹמוֹ – לְנִמֵּק: מִדּוֹעַ יָקִים יְהוָה נְבִיאִים? מִדּוֹעַ מוֹסֵר לָהֶם אֶת יִדְעֶת הָעֵתִיד? הוּא מִסְתַּפֵּק בְּתַבְעִיָּה, שֶׁנְּבִיאִים יֵשׁ לְדַרְשׁ וְלֹא בְּמִגִּידֵי־עֵתִיד הַכְנַעֲנִיִּים. אֲךָ חֲשִׁיבוֹתָה שֶׁל מִשְׁאֵלָה זֶה מוֹדַגֶּשֶׁת בְּסִיּוֹם הַחֲגִינִי (פס' י"ז), הַחֲדִיפְעִמִי לֹא רַק בְּסִפֵּר דְּבָרִים, כִּי אִם בְּכָל חֻקֵּי הַתּוֹרָה, שֶׁאֵינוֹ מֵאִפְשָׁר גִּשּׁוֹר בֵּין שְׁנֵי הַנּוֹדִים הַקְּטִיבִים. בְּרֵם, גִּשּׁוֹר זֶה נּוֹצֵר בְּעַקְבוֹת הַמַּנְעַ הַיּוֹם־יּוֹמִי בֵּין שְׁתֵּי הָאֻמּוֹת. נְבִיאֵי הַסִּפֵּר בְּפּוֹלְמוֹסֵם עִם שָׂאֵר נְבִיאֵי דּוֹרֵם טוֹעִנִים, שֶׁאֵלֶּה קוֹסְמִים: ¹⁹ מִנְחָשִׁים עֵתִיד כְּדֶרֶךְ הַכְנַעֲנִיִּים. ²⁰ טַעֲנָה זֶה מוֹכִיחָה, כִּי (א) נְבִיאֵי וְקוֹסֵם אֵינֶם שְׁנֵי נִגּוּדִים קְצוֹנִיִּים וְהֵם הַתְּקִימוּ זֶה בְּצַד זֶה; (ב) אֲבָל נְבִיאֵי הַסִּפֵּר אֵינֶם מוֹדִיעִים עִם חֲבֵרֵיהֶם אֱלֹה; הֵם רּוֹאִים אֶת מַעֲשִׂיהֶם כִּיּוֹצֵא־לִפְנֵי, מְגוֹנִים וּמַעֲוִירִים אֶת הַתְּנַדְרוֹת. אֵי־לִזְזֹת חֲשִׁיבוֹת רַבָּה לְעוֹבְדָא, שֶׁגַּם בְּפִיהֶם נְבִיאִים־קוֹסְמִים אֱלֹה נְבָאִים וְאֵינֶם מִתְּנַבְּאִים. ²¹ זֹאת אוֹמֶרֶת: אֵף הֵם אֵינֶם מְטִילִים סִפֵּק בְּאִפְשָׁרוֹת, שֶׁהִלְלוּ עוֹמְדִים עַל רֵמָה שׁוֹה לָהֶם. כְּנֶרְאָה, הָרִיב הַמְקַצְעִי שֶׁבִּינֵיהֶם מוֹסֵב עַל שְׁאֵלוֹת מִשְׁנִיּוֹת בְּלִבָּד, כְּמוֹ שֶׁשְׁאֵלַת הַטְּכִנִּיקָה: כִּיצַד לְהַשִּׁיג אֶת יִדְעֶת הָעֵתִיד? גַּם נְבִיאֵי הַסִּפֵּר מְנִיחִים, כִּי חֲבֵרֵיהֶם הַקּוֹסְמִים מְכִירִים

הַחֵי (בְּשֵׁם־א כ"ח: י"ג הַמֵּת נִקְרָא "אֱלֹהִים"). בְּטוֹי זֶה פּוֹתַח, אִפּוּא, אֲשֶׁנֶּב לְעוֹלָם הָאֻמּוֹת, הַמּוֹכֵרוֹת לְנוּ הַיֵּטֵב מֵהַקָּשֶׁת הַפּוֹרִיָּה.

¹⁷ הַתּוֹאֵר "תָּמִים" שְׂכִיחַ לְצִין אֶת טִיב הַקְּרִבּוֹת לְסוּגִיהֶם, שֶׁאִפְשָׁר לְהַקְרִיבֵם לַיהוָה. מִכָּאן הַתְּרַחֵב הַמוֹשֵׁג לְשִׁלּוֹת שְׁבִלָב עִם יְהוָה וְעִם חֻקָּיו, – כְּמוֹ בְּפִסּוֹק זֶה. אֲךָ זֶה הַחוֹק הַיְחִידִי, הַדּוֹרֵשׁ תְּמִימוֹת וְנִחָם־בְּתַבְעִיָּה זֶה.

¹⁸ בְּכָל סִפְרֵי הַתַּנ"ךְ הַנְּבִאוּתָה אֵינָה נִתְפַּסֶּת כְּמַתְנִיתִיָּהוּ בְּלִבָּד; אֵינָה סוֹלְחַת בְּהַלְעִדִית. בְּהַמֶּשֶׁךְ חוֹק זֶה (פס' כ') נִמְצָא הַכְּרָה מְלֵאָה בְּאִפְשָׁרוֹת, שֶׁגַּם "אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים" יְכוּלִים לְהוֹדִיעַ בְּאֻמְצָעוֹת נְבִיאִיהֶם אֶת הָעֵתִיד וּיְתַכְּנוּ נְבִיאִים, שִׁדְּבֵרוּ אֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל "בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים".

¹⁹ נְבִאוּתָה וְקוֹסֵם מוֹכְרִים יַחַד: יֵשׁ: ג' ב'; מִיכָה ג' ו', יֵא: ירמ' כ"ז ט', כ"ט: ח'; יחז' י"ג: ו'–ז', ט', כ"ג, כ"ב: כ"ח.

²⁰ רָאִה: יֵשׁ: ב' ו', ח': י"ט.

²¹ רָאִה: יִפְסֵן: בְּסִפְרוֹ הַמּוֹזֵר בְּהַעֲרָה מִס. 1, עמ' 7.

לאִימָצָא בְךָ מַעֲבִיר בְּנִרְבּוֹתָיו בְּאֵשׁ קֶסֶם קְסָמִים⁹ מַעֲוִינָה¹⁰ וּמִנְחָשׁ¹¹ וּמִכְשָׁף¹²:
(פֶּסֶס' י')
וְחֹבֵר חֶבֶר¹³ וְשָׂאֵל אוֹב¹⁴ וְיִדְעֹנִי¹⁵ וְדָרַשׁ אֱלֹהֵתִים¹⁶:
(פֶּסֶס' י"א)

⁹ השורש ק.ס'ם מראה על נזירה, חתיכה, בה קושרים את רוח המת ומדובבים אותה (ראה: ש"א כ"ח: ט'). המלה ק.ס'ם מציינת לא רק את פעולת הנזירה והחתיכה, כי אם גם את החמר, בו קושרים את הרוח (ראה: במ' כ"ב: ז'; יחז' כ"א: כ"ז) ושחים אותה (יחז' י"ג: י"ח; כ"ג: על בנות־ישראל המתנבאות וגם כ"ב: כ"ח). קסם זה קשור גם בתרפים (ראה: ש"א ט"ו: כ"ג; השוה ליחז' כ"א: כ"ז) והוא — כנראה — האוב (ש"א כ"ח: ט'). המדובב את הרוח לנחש עתיד (נחש וקסם יחד: במ' כ"ג: כ"ג; מל"ב י"ז: י"ז). פעולה זו יכול כל אחד לבצע, לכן הערתו של ה'לדר' אינה נכונה. ראה: A. Haldar, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁰ שורש השם מַעֲוִינָה אינו ברור די הצורך. יש המפרשים מַעֲוִינָה כהגדת עתיד ע"י בדיקת העיניים; המפרשים היהודיים המסורתיים טוענים, שהכנוי נגזר מ־ע"י ופרשו להעביר על העינים, או לאחז' בעינים; ויש הסבורים, כי פרושו מתן עתים לרעה ולטובה מושרש (ע"י י"ג: כ"ג) כמו שיש המשוים ל־עני, לדבר מהאף, לדבוב את רוח המת.

¹¹ המלה הכללית והסתמית ביותר, שאינה מפרטת את השיטה, בה מושגת ידיעת העתיד (לכן היא יכולה להצטרף לכל הסוגים?). יש להעיר על הקשר הפנימי, שבין נחש ונחוש עתידות. אמונה כלל־אנושית שהנחש יודע את סוד החיים והמות; את סוד החיים שלאחר המות. אמונה זו השתמרה בעדנו בספור על הנחש שבג'עדן (בר' ג'). הודות לידיעת הסוד הזה הנחש מסמל גם את סגולת הרפואה (ראה: במ' כ"א: ט'; מל"ב י"ח: ד').

¹² השורש כ.ש.ף מראה אף הוא על פעולת נזירה וחתיכה; הוא נדרף ל.ק.ס'ם. שמוש השגורתי ביותר של סופרי התנ"ך בשורש זה לצין את נחוש העתיד האלילי. הכנוי מ.כ.ש.ף יכול להתחבר למעונו (מיכה ה': י"א; ראה גם ירמ' כ"ז: ט'), לחכם ולחרטום, עושה הלהטים (ש"א ז': י"א; דנ' ב': ב'; ראה גם: ישע' ג': ב'). מ.כ.ש.ף הוא נדרף למנאף (מלאכי ג': ה') — ואולי במיוחד הנשים הנכריות עסקו בו. יתכן והכשוף קשור בפתח אל (או אלת) הפוריות, המת וקם לחתיה, יורד שאולה וחוזר ממנו (לכן מכיר את סוד העתיד, את סוד החיים שלאחר המות).

¹³ גם הוא מכשף (ישע' מ"ז: ט', י"ב), החובר את הנזירות והחתיכות, טח כסות לקשור בה את רוח המת (עין: איוב מ' ל'; לפי פרושו של רש"י).

¹⁴ אוֹב שמו של עצם דומם, בו משתמשים לשם דבוב רוח המת. לדעת טור־סיני (ערך 'אוב' באנציקלופדיה המקראית, כרך א', עמ' 136–137) מצין נאד יין, ממנו משקים את רוח המת. לפני הדרישה במת היו מקריבים קרבן (הנקרא 'זבחי מתים' בתה' ק"ו: כ"ח, או 'לחם אונים' בתה' ט': ד'; עיין גם: דב' כ"ז: י"ד; ירמ' ט"ז: ז'–ח'; ש"ב ג': ל"ה; יחז' כ"ד: י"ז) ואת דמו אונרים בנאד, ששמנו נוסכים לרוח המת. באמצעי זה יכולים להשתמש גברים ונשים גם יחד (ראה בעיקר: ויק' כ': כ"ז, כמו כן ויק' י"ט: ל"ט, כ': ו'; דה"ב ל"ג: ו') וגם כחוק זה מדובר באופן סתמי על השאלה באוב, אך בספורי התנ"ך אנו קוראים אך ורק על בעלת האוב ואף פעם אין מזכירים, בעל אוֹב וגם הקוסם אינו נקרא בשם זה. גם האנתרופולוגיה הכללית מעידה, כי הדרישה במת (necromanteia) מלאכתן של הגשים אצל כל העמים. יש הסבורים, (כנון: *W. K. C. Guthrie: The Greeks and their Gods*, Chapter IX, esp. pp. 228–9) [1955], כי זו היא הצורה העתיקה ביותר של נחוש עתיד. לפי ש"א כ"ח: ט'; בעלת האוב קוסמת, אך בנות ישראל המתנבאות והקוסמות (יחז' י"ג: י"ז–כ"ג) אינן מכוונות בשם, בעלות האוב. אולי השמוש בשני כנויים אלה מראה על שתי טכניקות שונות לדבוב רוח המת (ראה שוב הערה 9).

¹⁵ הידעוני — לפי פטאי (א.ד.ס. ואדמה' י"ד, חש"ב, עמ' 221) — שמו של דודאים (מנדגורה) ומשתמשים בצמח זה לשם קבלת אכסטוא. לדעת טור־סיני (כנ"ל) רוח המת נקראת בשם זה.

¹⁶ הסבר כללי לסוגי הנחוש, שכנוייהם רודפים זל"ז ומראים כלם על דבוב רוח המת, המפורטים ברשימה אחת. אם אפשר לדרוש אל המלים: פרושו של הדבר, שהמת, או מהשהוא ממנו (רוחו) קים גם לאחר המות: בינו ובין עולמנו אפשר לנשר; הוא יודע את סוד העתיד והוא נדול ושלם יותר מהאדם

כמו של איש אלהים. פולמוס העצוב של ימי כתיבת התנ"ך אינו מכונן נגד איש אלהים. להפך: המושג פושט את מובנו ועוד מתרחב, עד שכולל בתוכו גם את רויד המלך.

לזהו איש אלהים עם, הנביא הישראלי⁸ בסיס מוצק משמשות התכונות המשותפות לשניהם: קדם-כל שניהם מנחשי ומגודי עתיד ושניהם רופאי חולים. גם אחיה השלוני (מל"א י"ד: א', ג') ואפילו ישעיהו (ישע' ל"ח: כ"א) עסקו ברפוי (כמו גם משה ואהרן הכהן, אך ערויות אלו טעונות מחקר מיוחד!) ולפחות במידה מסוימת גם נביאי ישראל פעלו בקשר לבצירת והורדת גשם: בנושאי תפלת העם.⁹ לכן מפליאה העובדה, שאף נביא אחר, שדבריו השתמרו בעדנו בספר נפרד, הנושא את שמו — מעמוס ועד מלאכי — אינם נקראים בתאר זה! מכאן מתבקשת המסקנה: הם שני סוגים שונים ונפרדים של הנבואה. פרט לשמעיהו ואולי איתו איש אלהים, עלום השם, המוזכר במל"א י"ג כלם, הנקראים בשם זה: מופיעים ופועלים במלכות הצפון. מכאן תתכן ההנחה, שחאר זה מציין סוג מסוים של נביא, האפייני רק למלכות אפרים.

עדות היסטורית רבת חשיבות על סוג אחר של מגיד עתיד קדום, טרום-ישראלי נמצא בחק הנבואה, אשר בספר דברים, פרק י"ח:

כי אתה בא אלהארץ אשר-יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לאתלמד לעשות כתועבת הגוים ההם:

⁸ תפקידו של הנביא להתפלל בעד העם. אברהם במסורת המקראית אינו נחשב לנביא. רק פעם אחת (בר' כ': ז') כתוב עליו, שהוא נביא ואז — כרי לצין את הקו האופייני ביותר לנביא — מזכירים את סגולתו לשאת תפלה. המתקבלת עלידי האלהות (ראה עורד: במ' כ"א: ז'; שמ"א ז': ה'; ז'—ט', י"ב: יט, כ"ג, ט"ו: י"א: מל"א י"ג: ט'; ישע' ל"ז: י"ד; ועין גם בירמ' ז': ט"ו, י"א: י"ד, י"ד: י"א: כמו גם בוי': א', ל"ז: ג'; וראה מל"ב ב': כ"ג—כ"ד, ו': י"ח). תפלה פרושה: להציג את בקשת העם בעת בצורת, התנפלות אויב, או אסון אחר, בפני יהוה, השופט העליון (כגון שופ' י"א: כ"ז; שמ"א כ"ד: י"ב; ירמ' ב': ל"ה; מיכה ז': ט') ולבקש גורדין ממנו: להביא את החלטתו בפני העם, כי הנביא — הודות לסגולותיו — מתוך בין בני תמותה ואלהות. כמו השרשים פל"ג, פל"ח, פל"ס, פל"ץ (המופיעים בבנין שני) כלם מצביעים על הבדלה, הפרדה וחלוקה: כן פרוש השורש פל"ל הבדלה בין טוב ורע ובמובן הפלילי (גם מלה זו נגזרה מאותו שורש וגם טוב ורע מושגים משפטיים הם! ראה: מל"א ג': ט'). המתפלל פורש את כפיו אל-על, השמימה ומראה, שאין עול בכפיו. לתפלה קודם ודוי (שמ' ט': כ"ז—כ"ח, י"ז: ט"ו—י"ז; במ' כ"א: ז'; יהו' ז': י"ט—כ'; שופ' י"ז: י', ט"ו: שמ"א ז': ה—ו', י"ב: י', י"ט; שמ"ב י"ב: י"ג, כ"ד: י', י"ז; דה"א כ"א: ח', י"ז; מל"א ח': מ"ז; ירמ' ג': כ"א—כ"ה; תה' מ"א: ה', ג"א: ג'—ו'; ראה עורד: איוב ז': כ', י': י"ג—י"ד, ל"ג: כ"ד—כ"ח) והיא מלווה צום (שמ"א ז': ו'; שמ"ב י"ב: ט"ו, יואל א': י"ד, ב': ט"ו—י"ח; יונה ג': ה—ח; עין עורד: מל"א כ"א: ט', י"ב; ירמ' ל"ו: ו', ט') ותגירת שק, כמו באבל (תה' ל"ה: י"ג; דנ' ט': ג'; נח' ט': א—ב'); ואולי גם השתחוות (שמ"א ט"ו: כ"ד—כ"ה, ל': ראה עורד: שמ"א א': כ"ח—ב'; א': מל"א ב': י"ח) — כחלק מטכס עבודת האלהות (שמ"א א': ג'; ישע' ס"ו: כ"ג; ירמ' ז': ב'; = כ"ו: ב'). ברם, התפלה עצמה אינה, אלא קריאת שמו הסודי של יהוה: מאנית הקול. (לשם דוגמה: שמ"א י"ב: י"ז; מל"א י"ח: כ"ד; יואל א': י"ט; תה' קי"ח: ה', ק"ב: א' ועוד.)

התשובה לתפלת הנביא מתנסחת נבואה: דבר יהוה (דָּבָר — מענה, תשובה). כל פעם, כשכתוב בספרי הנביאים, ויהי דבר יהוה אל אלמוני ופלוגי וכיוצא בזה: קודמת לו הדרישה בנביא, עליה נתנה התשובה ואף היא בנויה לפי אותה המתכונת: בראשונה סקירה על החטאים (המסתמכת על הורוי שלפני התפלה): יען אשר עשיתם . . . והמפנה: לכן כה אמר יהוה ואח"כ באה הגדת העתיד, הנבואה גופא, ובסופה שבועה חגיגית, המחזקת מחדש את התשובה: נאם יהוה.

(מל"ב ו': י"ח-כ'); או להמית את שליש המלך, כי העז לפקפק באמיתות דבריו (מל"ב ז': ב', י"ט-כ'); ואת כל הילדים שלעזו לקרחת שלו (מל"ב ב': כ"ב-כ"ד), אך גם לאחר מותו להקים מת לתחיה⁶. ספורים אלה אף מעידים על יכולתו של אלישע, איש אלהים, לראות את העתיד להתרחש (כגון: מל"ב ח': י"א-י"ב) ולראות גם למרחקים מבחינה גיאוגרפית. הוא ראה מביתו את גחזי לוקח מתנה מנעמן (מל"ב ה': כ'), ואת מועצת שרי ארם (מל"ב ו': ח'-י"ב) ואף את חיילי מלך ישראל, הבאים לאסרו (שם, פס' ל"ב-ל"ג).

באגדות פלא האלו יש לראות התפתחות פולקלוריסטית נוספת לתפיסת קוי האפי העקריים ברמותו של איש אלהים (הנסים והנפלאות משמשים להם רק מסגרת): בגלל קרבתו המיוחדת אל האלהות הוא יכל להפעיל כחות על-טבעיים; הוא איש אלהי, על-אנשי, השולט בטבע; - וזה מה שעורר את התפעלות המספרים להגים בתאורי התכונה הזו! איש אלהים, הודות לסגולותיו המיוחדות-האישיות, נהנה מסמכות של מנהיגות דתית עליזנה, המבוססת על מעשי נסים ונפלאות, המתרחשים בעדו, או מבוצעים על-ידו. רק מנהיג זה מוקף תלמידים. "בני נביאים" הם מעין מעמד-בינים לתווך בין יחיד הסגולה וההדיוטים, היראים מפניו בגלל הופעתו המפחידה (ראה: מל"א י"ז: י"ח; השוה לשופ' י"ג: ו') ומנבאים לו מתנות (ראה: מל"ב ד': ט'-י"א, מ"ב; ה': ט"ו ואילך; השוה לשמ"א ט': ז'-י"ח). סגולותיו האישיות דבקות בכל חפציו (כגון: מל"ב א': י"ג-ט"ו; ד': כ"ט) ואף בעצמותיו לאחר מותו (ראה: מל"ב י"ג: כ'-כ"א), כקדושה מדבקת, כח מאגי, הנותן להעברה ופעיל לפי מצותיו⁶.

אין להוציא מכלל האפשרות, שגם לפני אליהו ואלישע היו אישי אלהים נוספים על אלה, המוזכרים בספרי התנ"ך בלא שמם הפרטי (כגון: שמ"א ב': כ"ז ואילך, מל"א י"ג: א' ואילך) וגם אחריהם היו עוד רבים מלבד שמעיהו (רה"ב י"א: ב'; כ"ה: ט'; ראה עוד: ירמ' ל"ה: ד'). אך זו היא עובדה, שבתקופה הפרסית כבר גם דויד המלך מכונה בתאר "איש אלהים". זה מוכיח, שמוכנו הנכון של הכנוי כבר נשכח מלב כלם. אי-לכך יתכן, שבהעלאתם על הכתב ספורים עתיקים על איש אלהים: סופרי הקורות העדיפו להשתמש בבטויים אחרים (כגון: "האנשים" בבר' י"ח-י"ט, או "איש נביא" בשופ' ו': ח'). אם דויד ומשה יחדיו מכונים בתאר זה: הרחבת המושג מראה, שבשני המקרים גם יחד מבקשים לציין רק את קרבתם המיוחדת אל האלהות, אך לא את התכונות והתפקידים ההיסטוריים-הראשונים.

איש אלהים - למרות היותו טרום-ישראלי - התאזרח ללא כל התנגדות. סופרי המקרא מזהים את איש אלהים עם הנביא (כגון: שמואל, אליהו, אלישע ושמעיהו, הנקראים בשני הכנויים בחל"פים). אפילו בשלב האחרון, כאשר מתגבשת רמות "הנביא הישראלי" ומתנסחות התביעות ממנו: איש אלהים היה דוגמא גם לנביא. קנה המידה לאמיתות שליחותו של הנביא גם בישראל, שדבריו יתגשמו (שמ"א ג': י"ט; ט': ו'; מל"א י"ז: כ"ד; דב' י"ח: כ"ב)⁷.

⁵ הספור הקצר במל"ב י"ז: כ'-כ"א יסוד לאגדת פלחן של עליה לרגל (hero-cult-legend) אל קברו של אלישע, כמו שמנהג זה היה מקוים גם באסלאם בכל הדורות ועד ימינו. אם מנהג כזה לא התפתח בישראל העתיקה: הרי זה בגלל הגלות, שנתקה את האמונות המקומיות מרקע צמיחתן. ברם, יתכן והעבודה על-יד קברי הנביאים היתה קימת כאמונה עממית, שהדת הרשמית נלחמה בה ועקבה זה מלמדים, שאת קבר משה אין יודע איש.

⁶ J. Wach: *Sociology of Religion*⁸, (1958), pp. 334-37, 340, 350.

⁷ היחס בין פסוקים אלה ובין ספר דברים קשה לקביעה היסטורית: אם נסוח החק נשען על הכרה עממית קדומה, או סופרי המקרא, השיכים לאסכולת ספר דברים מעבירים אותו לתקופה עתיקה? בין כה וכה; תהא תשובתו על שאלה זו אשר תהא: הערצת איש אלהים אינה מוטלת בספק!

אלהים ומפעלו. באגדות על אליהו ועל אלישע נמצא את התאור המפורט ביותר על כל אלה, המכונים בספרי התנ"ך בתאר זה, על-כן אגדות עממיות אלו מבהירות לנו את מהות המונח ושאר הספורים (כגון: שופ' י"ג) עוד משלימים את התמונה ומאשרים את קויה מחדש. אף כי ספורים אלה מאוחרים מהתקופה המתוארת בהם ומותאמים לרעיונות העידן: הם שומרים על אי-אלו תכונות, רבות הערך להבנת המונח וכלן יחד, בצרופן זו בצד זו מסיעות בידינו להבדיל בין מקור היסטורי ועצוד מנמתי; בין שכבה עתיקה ושלבי התפתחות; כמו גם בין השגתו והאישי שבתאורי איש-אלהים השונים. באגדות עממיות אלו, מוכרת בקלות הגוזמא מתוך התפעלות. אך אין ספק: מה שעורר את התפעלות הדורות עד כדי הגזמה כולל גרעין אמיתי, עדות מהימנה.

הספורים השונים על אליהו התשבי⁴ מבלישים את נסיעותיו המוחזות על-ידי "רוח יהוה" – דבר, שלא סופר על אף רמות נבואית אחרת בתנ"ך (פרט ליחזקאל). גם עבדיה, שר אחאב (מל"א י"ח: י"ב) וגם בני הנביאים בבית-אל כמו בירחו – מכירים מנסיונם הקודם את האפשרות, שרוח יהוה תשא את אליהו למרחקים. לכן גם כשאלהו עלה השמימה: עוד מחפשים אחריו בהרים ובגיאיות במשך שלשה ימים (מל"ב ב': ט"ז–י"ז מול פס' ג', ה', ז'). יחס מיוחד זה בין אליהו ורוח יהוה גורם להעתקת האגדה על חנוך, שלא טעם את טעם המיתה ונלקח עודנו חי השמימה. וכך יהפך אליהו ברבות הימים באמונה העממית למבשר המשיח (ראה: מלאכי ג': כ"ג–כ"ד).

אך התפתחות נוספת זו אינה מבטלת את העדות הראשונה על איש אלהים. גם האגדות העממיות שומרות נאמנה על דמותו ההיסטורית של אליהו. כל הספורים מצביעים על תפקידו של איש אלהים כמבשר עתיד, מפנה בגורל (כמו מלאך יהוה), פוקד עקרות ומבשר להן הולד ביוזם (שופ' י"ג: ה', ז'; מל"ב ד': ט"ז–י"ח; השוה לבר' י"ח), או מבשר רעות (שמ"א ב': כ"ז–ל"ו; מל"א י"ז: י"ח; מל"ב ז': ב', י"ט); מגיד עתיד לכל דורש – כנראה תמורת תשלום (שמ"א ט': ז'–ח'; השוה למל"א י"ד: ג'; מל"ב ד': מ"ב; ה': ט"ז). יכלתו של איש אלהים לרפא חולים ואף להקים מת לתחיה מנוצלת על-ידי פרטים (כגון מל"א י"ז: י"ז–כ"ד). הופעתו פתאומית ומעוררת יראה (שופ' י"ג: ו'; מל"א י"ז: י"ח; ראה גם מל"א י"ג: א'–ו'; ספור מונתי ומעובד, הפותח *in medias res*). אבל באגדות-אליהו מובלטים תפקידיו הצבוריים-הלאומיים של איש אלהים: הוא מופיע תמיד בקשר לבצרת ולהבאת גשם; הוא יכל להוריד אש אוכלת מן השמים – הן לשם הוכחת גדולתו וגדולת אלהיו (מל"א י"ח: י"ט–מ') והן לשם השמדה (מל"ב א': ט'–י"ד). ואם סגולות אלו בלבד של נסים ונפלאות מסופרות גם על אלישע – תלמידו ויורשו; לעתים אפילו בזהו המארעות – הרי יש בזה עדות נוספת, שבני דורות התנ"ך באלה ראו את מהות איש אלהים!

גם באגדות העממיות על אלישע – דמות חד-פעמית, שונה בתכלית מכל תאור שגתו, המעוררת אמון בנאמנותם ההיסטורית של הפרטים המסופרים עליה – מדגישים, חורים ומדגישים את שלשת תפקידיו איש האלהים: נחוש עתיד, רפוי חולים והורדת גשם. אבל מתוך ספורי-אלישע אנו נמצאים למדים, שסגולות אלו דרצדיות הן. כבר טענתי, שהמפנה, אשר איש אלהים מבשרו יכל להיות הן לטובה והן לרעה; הורדת אש אוכלת מן השמים יכלה להיות אות לגדולתו, כמו גם כח הרסני וקטלני. בספורים על אלישע מבליטים את יכלתו של איש-אלהים לרפא ולהכות במחלה – לא רק אנשים בודדים (כמו גם את גחוי בצרעת נעמן; לפי מל"ב ה': כ"ז; כמו אותו איש אלהים עלום השם, המוזכר במל"א י"ג: א'–ו'), כי אם גם את כל צבא ארם בסגורים – ושוב לרפא את כלם בכח תפלתו

⁴ ביהר פרוט ראה מאמרי: אליהו התשבי (א'–ט') (HUCA, 1958, XXIX, pp.

ראשית הנבואה בישראל

רפאל הלוי, תל אביב

„לצלח, רעיתי“

רעה נפוצה עד היום בין חוקרי התנ"ך, כי הנבואה בישראל ירושה חדשה מעמי כנען: שבטי ישראל למדה בשעת התנחלותם ולפניכן לא היו להם נביאים.¹ סברה זו אינה יכולה לעמד בפני הבקרת. בראש ובראשונה: נחוש העתיד הוא תופעה כלל-אנושית ונמצאה אצל עמים שונים ורחוקים ומ"ז מבלי כל סגול, למוד, או השפעה. מתוכים בין ספרות אנושית ועל-אנושית: „נביאים“ קימים כמעט אצל כל העמים, על-כן אין לאתר את התופעה ולקשרה אל עם מסוים אף במקרה של הנבואה בישראל. ללא צל של ספק גם בכנען אין הנבואה המצאה חדשה של התושבים הטרוס-ישראליים. היא מוכרת בכל אזור הקשת הפוריה ולשבטים העבריים (הנודדים מאור-כשדים ומחרן ועד הנגב, באר שבע וקדש ברנע ועד מצרים) היו הודמנויות רבות להכירה על כל סוגיה. בין השבטים המתנחלים בשני גלים בכנען ותושביה הקדמונים של הארץ אין הבדל נכר. חלק מאותם השבטים, שברבות הימים יתאחדו לעם ישראל אף פעם לא ישבו במקום אחר חוץ מכנען (מעולם לא ירדו מצרימה, לא יצאו ממנה ולא כבשו את הארץ); וגם גלי החוזרים לכנען מצאו שם קרובים להם קרבת דם וקרבת תרבות (הכוללת מצדה הרוחני מסרת, השקפת עולם, מנהגים ואורח חיים גם יחד, מלוכדים בחטיבה אורגנית). לכן מזוגם לעם אחד היה תהליך טבעי, – אפילו אם תהליך אטי: הרי הוא מובן מאליו ואין כל אפשרות לדבר על השפעת האחר על השני. שנית: אין לנבואה בישראל רק שרש אחד. היא התגבשה במשך מאות בשנים מצורות שונות – לא רק מתוך התאמה ושנוי, כי אם גם מתוך פולמוס ומלחמה; כשהגבושים העצמאיים מוסיפים להתקים זה בצד זה. כמו שלעם ישראל אין מוצא אתני אחיד: גם לנבואה בישראל אין רק מקור אחד וכל נסיון של תאור ההתפתחות בקו אחד יהא בהכרח מוטעה.

חקר התחלותיה של הנבואה בישראל נתקל בשני קשיים לשוניים: אין אנו מכירים את השרש הכלל-שמי וטרוס-ישראלי, ממנו הכנוי „נביא“ נגזר. לכן אין אנו מבינים את פרושו ואת השמוש הנכון בו. נוסף על זה: סופרי התנ"ך מכנים בתאר זה סוגים שונים של מגידי עתיד; משתמשים בו שמוש רחב מאד, הכולל הן את נביאי ישראל והן את יריביהם מבית ומחוץ; בלא איזרשהיא הבחנה. ערבוב זה מקשה על החוקר כבר בראשית הברורים. אבל מצד שני בלשון התנ"ך התאבן זכר לסוגים אחרים של מגידי עתיד והשמוש העקבי בכנוייהם ומה שמסופר עליהם מאפשרים לנו לעמד על תכונותיהם הבולטות ביותר. בעבורה זו הריני מנסה – בהשתמשי בשטה הפילולוגית ובהסתמכי על עדויות הכתוב, אבל גם מתוך השוואה אנתרופולוגית רחבה – להבדיל בין כמה אבות-טיפוס, שכל אחד מהם תרם (בדרך משלו) את תרומתו לעצוב דמותו של „הנביא הישראלי“.

אחד מכנויי הנביא בתנ"ך, שעבר בירושה מעמי כנען לישראל הוא „איש אלהים“.² בספרים המקראיים כלולה עדות,³ המאפשרת לנו לשחזר את מהותו ההיסטורית של איש

¹ A. Jepsen: *Nabi* (1934), pp. 143–8.

² ראה A. Haldar: *Association of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, (1945), pp. 127–131; D. M. L. Urie: *Officials of the Cult at Ugarit*, PEQ, (1948), p. 45.

³ על החומר התנ"כי ראה מאמרי: pp. 237–44. *JNES*, XVII, 1958, Man of God.

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